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ABSTRACT

Universalization of primary education (UPE) is one of the major priority goals of all countries in the region of Asia and the Pacific. The developing countries in particular now are engaged extensively in the formulation and implementation of policies, plans, and programs aimed at making adequate and suitable opportunities for primary education available to all children as soon as possible. Lower participation rates of girls in primary education is seen as one of the main obstacles to achieving full universalization of primary education in some of the countries of the region. This volume focusing on New Guinea is one of a series that provides a comparative view of the position of and progress made in UPE in six countries with particular reference to female enrollment and participation in primary education. The six chapter topics in this volume are: (1) universal primary education; (2) poor female enrollment and retention, the incidence of the problem; (3) factors affecting the enrollment and retention of girls in community school; (4) retention, what the drop-outs and their parents say; (5) who drops out? and (6) present policies, projects, and proposed strategies. A number of tables displaying data appear throughout this volume and a 16-item bibliography is appended. (DB)

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Universal Primary Education for Girls

Papua New Guinea

UNESCO

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Papua New Guinea

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PREFACE

Universalization of primary education (UPE) is one of the major priority goals of all countries in the region of Asia and the Pacific. The developing countries in particular, are now engaged extensively in the formulation and implementation of policies, plans and programmes aimed at making adequate and suitable opportunities for primary education available to all children as soon as possible.

Lower participation rates of girls in primary education is seen to be one of the main obstacles in achieving full universalization of primary education in some of the countries in the region.

In 1985, six member countries of the region were supported within the framework of the Asian and Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID), to prepare national studies focusing on problems and issues related to education of girls, programmes and plans for the promotion of girls education and the innovative measures and actions taken to improve their participation in education. The studies were carried out by national institutes and professional groups under the guidance of high level national steering committees for promotion of girls' education which were established by the Ministries of Education in the respective countries, at the request of UNESCO, ROEAP. A list of the members of the steering committee is given as an Annex.

The findings of the national studies were later reviewed and examined at a Regional Review Meeting on the Situation of Girls' Education in the Context of Universalization of Primary Education which was held in Bangkok in November 1985. This series of publications is an outcome of the collaborative and co-operative efforts of the member countries in understanding the tasks involved in universalizing the primary education of girls and the nature and extent of problems and issues associated with it.

This series provides a comparative view of the position of and progress made in UPE in six countries, with particular reference to girl's enrolment and participation in primary education. It is published with the view that the countries in the region, which have similar problems on education of girls, will find the information, experiences and conclusions useful in pursuing their tasks vigorously by drawing on the experiences of other countries with the same goals and objectives.

CONTENTS

		Page
Introduction		1
Chapter One:	Universal Primary Education	3
Chapter Two:	Poor Female Enrolment and Retention: The Incidence of the Problem	11
Chapter Three:	Factors Affecting The Enrolment and Retention of Girls in Community School	20
Chapter Four:	Retention: What the Drop-outs and their Parents say	36
Chapter Five:	Who Drops Out?	45
Chapter Six:	Present Policies and Projects, and Proposed Strategies	53
Annex:	I. Bibliography	76
	II. Members of the Steering Committee	78

INTRODUCTION

Despite little strategic planning to improve female participation in education, the percentage of school age females who are enrolled in school has continued to improve. Over the last 12 years, female enrolments have increased by about 31 per cent compared with an increase in male enrolments of about 16 per cent. It is likely that female enrolment will continue to gradually improve, even without positive intervention.

The economic and social development which Papua New Guinea is seeking, entails profound and rapid change. Social and educational development has costs as well as rewards, however.

The government is committed to the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) as a step to improving the self sufficiency of the country and providing equal opportunity for all citizens. Increasing the percentage of females in primary school will both enhance progress toward UPE and reduce the imbalance in education and employment opportunities between males and females, but it cannot be achieved without affecting other components of the education system. A substantial portion of the 16 per cent of the National Budget which is spent on education, must be allocated to fulfill the needs of the 37 per cent of grade VI leavers who are given the opportunity of a High School education and the 8 per cent of grade one enrolees who eventually enter post secondary training. Intervention to hasten progress toward UPE means funds must be disproportionately directed towards primary education. If we increase the number of girls in primary school without proportionally expanding the number of places available in secondary school, we simply increase the number of grade VI leavers who are denied entry to high school. As Bray (1984) points out, any campaign to reduce female wastage and improve enrolments will increase competition for high school places.

The prospect of a high school education and paid employment is one of the major incentives for parents to send their children to school. Parental disillusionment over schooling is already high and

parents are already concerned at the effect of schooling on the behaviour of their daughters. A father from Papayuku, Enga Province, expresses it thus:

'It's a waste of time sending our girls. In the past we did, but our interest is finished.

We work hard to keep the houses and classrooms good but in three years only one child went to high school.

The girls are worse than useless after schooling even if they finish their exams. Their heads are turned, they have no respect for us, they think they are somebody special and won't work with their mothers.

There are no typing schools, no jobs in Wabag for girls and the vocational centre only trains boys. It is best the girls stay home.'

Many of the children in school today are the first generation to receive formal education. The attitudinal and behavioural changes which occur as a result of education are often very frightening to parents. This is particularly the case with girls since girls are typically more restricted than boys in terms of the range of behaviours considered acceptable. In the short term, increasing the number of females in school is likely to increase parental disillusionment with schooling and also increase the generation gap between parents and their daughters – expecially since many girls are no longer satisfied with village life, and seek the attractions of the towns, where they are often forced to establish undesirable relationships or engage in prostitution in order to survive financially.

Whilst UPE is a highly desirable goal, the speed with which it is achieved must be carefully considered to ensure the benefits continue to outweigh the social, emotional and financial costs.

Budget limitations will restrict expansion within primary education over the next few years. Strategies to improve female participation in primary education may, in the short term, most effectively and efficiently be directed towards improving retention and utilization of existing facilities and providing parents with realistic expectations of the rewards of educating their daughters.

Chapter One

UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

Papua New Guinea is the largest island in the Pacific. It has a population of just over three million people who are geographically separated by high mountain chains and open seas, culturally separated by customs and beliefs which vary greatly from region to region and linguistically separated by seven hundred different language groups within the country.

This year, the nation is celebrating ten years of independence from Australian colonial rule. In only a few decades, political, social, economic, and technological changes have occured which most nations have had centuries to experience. The government is committed to increase the self sufficiency of the nation, whilst also striving to provide equal opportunities for all citizens. The 1974 *National Goals and Directives*, written to guide planning subsequent to Independence, reflect such commitment:

> We declare our first goal to be for every person to be dynamically involved in the process of freeing himself or herself from every form of domination or oppression to develop as a whole person in relationship with others.
>
> We declare our second goal to be for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of our country.
>
> We declare our third goal to be for Papua New Guinea to be politically and economically independent and our economy basically self reliant.

Two of the aims of the *Eight Point Improvement Plan* (1972) specifically address inequalities between individuals and groups:

> More equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement toward equalization of incomes among people

and toward equalization of services among different areas of the country.

A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity.

Substantial progress has been made toward achieving self sufficiency of labour. In 1950, only 5 per cent of employees working within education (excluding International Schools) were Papua New Guinean citizens. Now Papua New Guineans make up 95 per cent of the education work force.

Table 1.1 shows the growth in the number of citizens in the total money raising work force by sex.

Table 1.1. PNG citizens in the money-raising work force, by sex, 1971 and 1980

Sex	*1971*	*1980*	*Per cent Increase*
Male	336,780	441,200	24
Female	151,523	291,600	52
Total	488,303	732,800	33

Source: Dept. of Labour and Industry.

A substantial increase has occurred between 1971 and 1980 in the number of females who earned money through their labour. In fact, 40 per cent of the money raising working force in 1980 were female. Most of these women were involved in small business cash cropping.

When the percentage of wage earners was assessed, only 13 per cent of the 1980 wage earning population were female.

The confidence of the nation in its ability to produce qualified and skilled citizens, who can assist in achieving self-sufficiency, continues to develop. However, the opportunities to contribute are sexually, socially and geographically unequal.

The second major national ideal, equal opportunity for all citizens is more difficult to achieve. Equal opportunity involves equal access to education as a means to development. The govern-

ment believes that one of the major components of educational equity is the provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE).

Major constraints to the achievement of universal primary education

Many different target dates have been offered for the achievement of UPE in Papua New Guinea. So many variables contribute to such an achievement, however, that it is impossible to realistically specify dates other than to say that, despite considerable progress, UPE is unlikely to occur until well into the twenty-first century.

There are five major constraints to the provision of UPE:

1. Difficulty in establishing educational priorities and translating broad goals into direct action;
2. Unequal distribution of educational opportunities;
3. Deficiencies in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data upon which planning decisions are made;
4. Low female enrolment relative to male; and
5. Poor retention of both males and females.

Whilst the poor enrolment and retention of girls in primary education is the focus of this study, each of the other factors affecting the achievement of UPE, also inhibits the enrolment and retention of girls.

Difficulty in establishing educational priorities and translating broad goals into direct action

The reduction of inequalities and the achievement of self sufficiency are not mutually achievable ideals. This places pressure on the educational system to simultaneously strive for two somewhat incompatible goals, with limited financial and trained manpower resources. On the one hand, national and provincial governments must work toward making six years of primary school education available for all children and ensuring that children can take advantage of the opportunities offered. Two groups which presently do not have equal opportunity for primary education are children in remote areas and girls. On the other hand, there is pressure on the govern-

ment to provide secondary and tertiary education in order to increase the localization of positions and promote political and economic development and self-sufficiency.

The responsibility for education policies, plan, priorities and allocation of funds is shared between the national government and 21 provincial governments. Politicians at both levels have to respond to different pressures and expectations. Whilst there is strong political commitment to UPE and to the equal development of both male and female citizens of Papua New Guinea, political commitment does not necessarily mean attainment in the immediate future. UPE was regarded as a high priority in the government's *Medium Term Development Strategy*. However, funds also have to be distributed to other sectors of the economy. The Budget Priorities Committee has indicated that primary education will not receive any significant increase in funds for the next five years, i.e. 1986-1990.

Before independence, emphasis was placed on the provision of a primary education which would prepare those who were selected for secondary education and employment within the wage earning sector. Resources were largely directed toward the expansion of the secondary system. This achieved the desired end of allowing for rapid localization of many positions during the ten years since Independence. After independence, the government initiated major changes in the control and direction of education to accommodate the new national goals. The first change was to allocate more resources toward the achievement of UPE. The second was to devolve many of the responsibilities for education to the newly established Provincial Departments of Education. The third change was to redirect curriculum emphasis to those skills and learning activities which would benefit the majority of children who would never enter secondary school.

The World Bank funded *First Primary Education Project* 1981-1987 was a major innovation within primary education. The two goals of the project are enrolment expansion and quality improvement. Again, the achievement of these two goals requires different sorts of emphases and decisions regarding priorities within primary education must be made. On the one hand there is pressure to provide literacy skills and a basic education which will improve the quality of life of the 87 per cent of the population who live in villages outside urban areas: more particularly, to improve the standard of

health, nutrition, child care and agricultural production of the majority. On the other hand there is still pressure to provide a curriculum of sufficient academic quality to allow the lucky few to proceed to high school and continue the selection process which may ultimately lead to employment within the wage earning sector.

The proposed World Bank funded *Second Primary Education Project*, due to start in 1987, will also emphasize the achievement of UPE, but the levels of funding projected will do no more than maintain the current proportion of children enrolled in schools (Kunjbehari, 1985). Infact, an NDOE Task Force convened to assist with planning for the Second Primary Education Project predicted that with the projected levels of funding there will be little progress toward UPE over the next five years unless emphasis is placed upon retention and greater utilization of existing facilities rather than expansion.

At a provincial level, the Education Plans drafted by each province in 1972 also reflect a commitment to achieving UPE and striving for equality of educational opportunity. Four provinces noted the importance of improved female participation in primary school. However, strategies for increasing female enrolment were, in most cases, either not formulated or not implemented due to lack of funds. Most provincial plans have not been updated and are thus of little help now in providing current data based strategies for moving closer to UPE.

Even if funds were immediately available, it takes skilled and experienced managers to plan and effectively implement strategies. Effective management is a major problem within many of the provinces where strategies would be implemented. The Provincial Divisions of Education are often understaffed and despite their dedication, many officers have not had sufficient time to develop the skills and experience necessary to cope with the complex demands placed upon them.

While steps toward UPE may sometimes appear slow and cumbersome, a balanced assessment of progress must consider such factors as the impact of bargaining among political parties, the competition among government departments and other interest groups for limited funds, the capacity of the bureaucracy to translate goals into specific strategies and to effectively implement these strategies

and the perception of the beneficiaries (the people) that strategies defined for them are infact going to lead to ends they consider desirable.

Unequal distribution of education opportunities

Development has not been equally distributed within or between provinces. Three major factors contribute to such inequity.

Firstly, because of the geographic accessibility of the region and the distribution of desirable and utilizable resources – important determinents of infrastructural development. *Secondly*, because of the length of western contact. Historically, some regions have been exposed to western modes of behaviour and education and western descriptions of progress for about 150 years. Other regions have had less than 50 years to adapt to such dramatic conceptual and behavioural changes. *Thirdly*, because of the sheer rapidity with which such changes have occured. Patterns of inequity tend to persist despite development, resulting in little change in the relative placement of provinces on a scale of educational and infrastractual progress, even though the degree of unevenness may have been reduced (Sheret, 1982). Although many planning and decision-making functions are now the responsibility of the Provincial Departments of Education, the National Department of Education still has some control over the distribution of National funds through a budgeting exercise called the National Public Expenditure Plan (NPEP). Under the sectoral programme for community schools provinces are allocated funds in the form of conditional grants based on the degree of disadvantage of the province.

The disadvantage index is calculated with reference to the number of school age children presently in school. Through the provision of weighted financial input, Highland provinces in particular, who have been allocated substantial amounts of money have significantly increased their enrolment ratios. Whilst some provinces have benefitted considerably, other more advantaged provinces have not been able to sustain their level of development. A province such as Manus, for example, now receive such limited funds to invest in projects aimed at improving the quality of community schooling that the standard of education is said to be falling. In addition, children living in an advantaged province but in an area where there are no

schools may have little chance of a primary education if the weighted financial input is not sufficient to allow for further expansion.

Another aspect of inequal distribution of educational opportunity, partially related to the degree of disadvantage of a province, is the availability of high school places. The likelihood of securing a place in high school appears to be an important incentive for parents to enrol their children and for children to remain in primary school.

This places the government in a difficult position and yet again, raises the issue of 'appropriate' allocation of resources. To provide sufficient incentive for children to enrol and remain in primary school, more places must be available in high school – but expansion of the secondary system will draw on the limited resources necessary to achieve the goal of UPE.

Inadequate data base

Most of the inadequacies with regard to data are a result of poor co-ordination between schools PDOEs and NDOEs. This inhibits realistic planning at both national and provincial levels and results in poor utilization of existing facilities.

Firstly, enrolment figures are of questionable accuracy. The most recent census (1980) indicated that the 1980 National Department of Education (NDOE) statistics had over estimated enrolments by 10.4 per cent. Follow-up studies in 1981 and 1982 confirmed that the census figures were the more accurate measure. This means that the 1980 official teacher ratio of 1:31.4 was more like 1:28.4. Given that the official target ratio is 1:35.0 it should have been possible to increase community school enrolments by about 20 per cent without a corresponding need for an increase in staff and facilities. This would have increased enrolments as a proportion of the 7-12 age group from 52.5 per cent to 64.7 per cent (Medium Term Development Strategy, Interim Report, 1983). *Secondly*, whilst the official age of entry to grade 1 is *not less* than 7 years old, most children are older than this. A recent representative survey of community schools found that only 29 per cent of grade 1 children were aged 7, whereas 40 per cent were aged 9 or older. This means that the official 1984 age 7 enrolment ratio relative to the age 7 population of 83.2 per cent of seven year olds in school is probably closer to 24.3 per cent of 7 years olds in school. *Thirdly*, enrolment

figures do not accurately reflect attendance. An earlier study (Hughes, 1983) showed that school attendance from 1980-1981 appeared to actually decline by 0.5 per cent although official figures indicated an increase of 5.5 per cent. A survey of 17 schools indicated that in 15 schools, enrolment records exceeded numbers of regular attenders, in one school by 139 per cent.

Unfortunately, because data inaccuracies tend toward spuriously inflating the figures, it is likely that less children than we think have been or are receiving a community school education.

Low female enrolment rates and poor retention rates

In a society where the male: female ratio is 52:48 enrolment in community schools has only reached a national male: female ratio of 57:43. The wastage between grades I and VI is high.

The opening of new schools in underserved areas is a costly step which, in itself, will not achieve UPE. Improved utilization of existing resources and more equal participation of girls is required if UPE is to become a realizable goal.

This study looks at the incidence of the problem of low female enrolment and poor male and female retention: compares and constrasts factors affecting male and female participation in community schooling, presents strategies for improved utilization of existing resources and finally, outlines some of the social and financial problems which may occur as a result of the achievement of UPE.

Chapter Two

POOR FEMALE ENROLMENT AND RETENTION: THE INCIDENCE OF THE PROBLEM

The primary education system

Community schools are controlled by Provincial Governments and managed by a Board of Management comprising community members, school and agency representatives. The responsibility for the development and distribution of curriculum materials for the teaching of core subjects (English, Mathematics, Science, Community Life) rests with the National Department. All other curriculum input is determined by individual Provincial Departments. The administration of the system is complex and requires communication and collaboration between the National Department, the twenty-one Provincial Departments and the five church agencies which operate within the National Primary System (Anglican, Evangelical Alliance, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and United Church).

About 95 per cent of all primary school enrolments are within the government system. Three other agencies also offer primary education. International Primary Schools were originally set up to cater for the children of expatriate workers, but an increasing number of Papua New Guinean parents are enrolling their children in these schools even though the fees are extremely high. Papua New Guinean children now account for over 30 per cent of International School enrolments. International schools follow an Australian syllabus.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church provides grade I-XII education within an independent system funded entirely by the church agency. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELCONG) runs an alternate six year programme of primary schooling in local languages. A wide range of subjects are taught and textbooks in the vernacular have been written. Its influence is largely limited to one province however.

It is the children within the government system who are the focus of this study.

Community school attendence

Chapter one pointed out that because age of entry to school varies so much it is impossible to accurately assess the percentage of children within the population who are enrolled in grade I. Attempts to do so risk fostering complacency because calculations are likely to be spuriously high. It appears however, that a moderately steady increase in both male and female enrolment has occured during the period 1972-1984, with male enrolments increasing by about 16 per cent and female enrolments increasing by about 31 per cent.

Table 2.1 shows the percentage of 7-12 year old male and female children who were enrolled in school during the period 1982-1984. Whilst these are the official National Department of Education figures, it is likely that they are inflated by 10-12 per cent because of the large number of school attenders who are older than 12. It is more likely that about 52 per cent, not 64 per cent of 7-12 year olds were in school during 1984. The percentage of error is probably fairly consistent however. Table 2.1 provides a reasonably reliable basis for making comparisons between years and across sex.

Table 2.1 shows that there is a considerable range in the provincial enrolment for both males and females. For example, for 1984, male ratios ranged from 57 per cent (Southern Highlands) to 87 per cent (Manus); female ratios range from 45 per cent (Enga) to 83 per cent (Manus). Whilst some fluctuation in annual percentages is due to a number of rural schools having biennial or triennial intakes, this would tend to have an equal effect on figures for both males and females.

Overall there has been a gradual increase in enrolment ratios between 1982 and 1984. The average percentage increase for females during 1982-1984 was 7 per cent. However, several provinces showed considerably greater increases in female enrolment ratios during this period (Gulf: 21 per cent, Milne Bay: 18 per cent, Southern Highlands: 15 per cent). The average percentage increase for boys was 3 per cent with the greatest increases in ratio demonstrated by Central Province and Western Highlands: 9 per cent.

Table 2.1. Percentage of male and female school-age children enrolled in school, by province

	Province	7-12 yr old boys			7-12 yr old girls			All 7-12 Yr. Olds 1982	All 7-12 Yr. Olds 1983	All 7-12 Yr. Olds 1984
		1982	1983	1984	1982	1983	1984			
	Western (S/Coast)	73.6	74.7	80.2	62.4	63.4	66.8	68.3	69.3	73.8
	Gulf (S/Coast)	74.7	77.6	80.6	39.1	58.5	60.2	66.1	68.4	70.7
	N/Capital (S/Coast)	79.8	77.2	75.3	76.8	75.4	74.1	78.4	76.4	74.7
	Central (S/Coast)	75.1	75.2	84.5	64.3	65.3	65.9	69.9	70.7	79.3
	Milne Bay (S/Coast)	71.2	72.6	75.8	55.0	66.8	73.2	62.8	69.8	74.6
	Oro (S/Coast)	67.8	70.5	70.0	56.9	60.4	64.3	62.6	65.7	67.3
*	S/Highlands (H/lands)	54.7	52.2	57.3	30.5	42.5	45.7	41.1	47.5	51.6
	E/Highlands (H/lands)	57.7	57.9	64.7	46.9	46.8	53.3	52.6	52.6	59.3
*	Simbu (H/lands)	60.0	64.2	67.8	42.6	47.4	49.9	51.7	56.2	59.3
*	W/Highlands (H/lands)	51.1	58.6	60.1	41.8	49.2	49.9	46.6	51.8	55.1
*	Enga (H/lands)	64.6	64.5	67.0	38.6	41.7	44.8	51.9	53.4	56.2
	Morobe (N/Coast)	67.3	67.2	68.8	52.1	50.8	52.3	62.0	59.4	61.0
*	Madang (N/Coast)	64.4	65.4	64.6	44.7	48.4	48.3	55.1	57.4	56.8
*	West Sepik (N/Coast)	71.6	70.8	71.9	44.7	45.0	47.7	58.9	58.4	60.3
	East Sepik (N/Coast)	70.6	70.9	76.8	52.9	55.8	61.7	62.0	63.5	69.4
	Manus (Islands)	90.4	93.8	87.4	83.4	87.6	83.3	87.0	90.8	85.4
	New Ireland (Islands)	80.8	87.7	85.7	72.7	80.1	78.6	77.0	84.0	82.3
	E/New Britain (Islands)	82.0	80.0	76.8	81.5	76.9	74.2	81.4	78.3	75.6
	W/New Britain (Islands)	79.8	78.7	83.7	72.5	71.4	75.2	76.3	75.3	79.7
	N/Solomons (Islands)	72.3	73.0	70.7	67.2	72.0	70.0	69.8	72.5	70.4
	Total	66.7	67.7	70.3	51.2	55.6	58.2	59.5	61.7	64.5

* Less than 50 per cent of the female age population enrolled in school.

Source: Unless otherwise stated, all tables were derived from data presented in the Annual Education Staffing and Enrolment Statistics Department of Education, Waigani, and the 1980 Census.

Universal primary education for girls

Female participation is by no means equal to male participation. On an national average only about 58 per cent of the female 7-12 year old cohort is enrolled in community school, compared with about 70 per cent of the male 7-12 year old cohort (1984).

Table 2.2 shows that the percentage of females in school relative to males has tended to increase, from 35.3 per cent of total community school enrolments in 1972, to 43.4 per cent in 1984. The Highlands provinces show the most dramatic increase in the percentage of females enrolled. (For example, Enga: 16.7 per cent – 1972 to 39.0 per cent – 1984). By 1984 only in Enga and West Sepik was the ratio of females to males less than 40 per cent. The ratio of females to males in the population is about 48-52 per cent. Thus, North Solomons, East New Britain, Manus, Milne Bay and National Capital District are all now approaching equal male/female enrolment in community school.

Table 2.2 Percentage of females relative to males enrolled in community schools, 1972-1984

Province	*1972*	*1977*	*1982*	*1984*
Western	37.8	40.8	43.4	43.3
Gulf	39.1	39.3	40.8	41.3
National Capital		47.8	46.3	46.7
Central	41.4	42.2	44.2	44.6
Milne Bay	41.4	43.0	45.3	45.9
Oro	40.0	41.2	43.3	44.2
Southern Highlands	24.3	29.0	41.6	43.2
Eastern Highlands	22.8	32.6	42.2	42.4
Simbu	23.6	35.8	39.3	40.0
Western Highlands		37.7	43.7	44.6
Enga	16.7	24.6	36.5	39.0
Morobe	33.6	37.0	39.4	41.0
Madang	37.1	37.7	39.4	40.5
West Sepik	33.8	33.0	35.9	38.0
East Sepik	32.2	37.7	41.7	43.5
Manus	43.8	44.9	46.9	46.7
New Ireland	46.6	45.0	56.1	46.1
East New Britain	43.8	43.9	47.1	46.8
West New Britain	43.8	43.9	45.0	44.9
North Solomons	45.7	45.5	46.6	47.8
Papua New Guinea	35.3	38.3	42.8	43.4

Since 1972 the enrolment of females has increased more rapidly than that of males. By 1984, about 43 per cent of all children in community schools were female.

Community school retention

The achievement of UPE requires not only that children are enrolled in school, but that they remain there for the duration of the schooling offered. Community school retention has been an issue for the past two decades. In 1969, it was reported that out of every 100 children entering the Preparatory grade, only 32 reached Standard 6 (Weedon Report). Whilst considerable progress has been made since then, wastage is still a major problem.

Table 2.3 shows the percentage of males and females enrolled in grade I who were still at school mid-year in grade VI.

Table 2.3 Male and female retention rates, grade I – gradeVI

Grade I	*Grade VI*	*Per cent retained from Grade I*		
		Males	*Females*	*Total*
1971	1976	76.9	66.8	73.1
1972	1977	72.7	69.4	71.5
1973	1978	72.0	71.6	71.8
1974	1979	71.8	69.7	71.0
1975	1980	67.1	74.6	69.6
1976	1981	66.4	67.7	66.9
1977	1982	65.4	67.1	66.1
1978	1983	68.3	68.5	68.4
1979	1984	67.5	68.7	67.6

* Note, statistics on retention refer to July enrolments and thus do not allow for wastage between February and July for grade I or July and December for grade VI.

Female retention rates are slightly more stable than male retention rates. However, rates for both males and females have deteriorated over the last nine years. Overall, more than 30 per cent of males and females who enrol in community school fail to complete the full six year programme.

Universal primary education for girls

Table 2.4 shows male and female retention rates by Province, for children entering grade I in 1977, 1978, 1979 and finishing grade VI in 1982, 1983 and 1984.

Table 2.4. Male and female retention rates (per cent) 1982-1984, by province

Province	*Males*			*Females*		
	GI: 1977 GVI: 1982	*GI: 1978 GVI: 1983*	*GI: 1979 GVI: 1984*	*GI: 1977 GVI: 1982*	*GI: 1978 GVI: 1983*	*GI: 1979 GVI: 1984*
Western	75.5	66.2	76.0	75.8	73.9	75.3
Gulf	66.3	73.3	74.3	57.1	70.2	75.8
National Capital	92.4	90.7	90.0	83.8	85.6	85.2
Central	76.5	71.3	74.7	65.2	65.4	72.4
Milne Bay	80.5	71.3	67.8	83.4	73.3	74.1
Oro	77.1	74.1	61.8	74.8	70.3	72.6
Southern Highlands	50.5	49.6	51.8	63.4	61.8	65.5
Eastern Highlands	49.2	76.8	52.8	49.7	61.1	54.3
Simbu	47.7	49.1	45.0	40.0	48.4	40.1
Western Highlands	42.9	54.7	60.5	31.6	58.2	61.0
Enga	47.8	47.8	46.1	56.1	60.6	55.5
Morobe	70.2	73.1	94.4	71.5	71.8	95.4
Madang	74.7	81.7	70.3	74.4	82.1	71.8
West Sepik	69.7	71.2	71.8	71.0	61.6	73.2
East Sepik	76.4	73.5	71.6	80.3	75.7	71.4
Manus	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.0	100.0
New Ireland	65.3	75.6	79.1	63.2	69.4	74.0
East New Britain	78.4	70.7	71.0	82.6	69.3	65.1
West New Britain	74.8	80.1	79.5	74.8	67.7	70.0
North Solomons	85.5	73.0	76.1	75.3	76.3	70.3
Total	65.4	68.3	67.5	67.1	68.5	68.7

Although it is difficult to interpret annual fluctuations in these figures, two trends emerge. *Firstly*, in provinces where the enrolment of girls is low relative to boys, the retention rate for girls tends to be higher than for boys (for example, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands, Enga, and West Sepik). These provinces are among the most disadvantaged and have thus received large financial imputs (K70,000-125,000 per annum) to improve enrolment, retention and quality within primary education over the last few years. It is disturbing to note however that Simbu Province did not manage to

retain even half of its grade I male or female enrolees until the end of grade six during 1982-1984.

Secondly, in some coastal provinces where the enrolment of boys and girls has been high, retention rates now seem to be dropping (for example, Milne Bay, East New Britain and the North Solomons). These provinces receive the least funding (K5,000-K35,000). Unless an advantaged province is able to use its own funds, it can barely maintain the standard of education it has achieved on funds allocated using the Index of Educational Opportunity. Furthermore, high school entry and employment opportunities are more restricted now than they were five years ago, because of the larger number of children entering the system.

Table 2.5 and 2.6 show the National intergrade drop-out patterns for males and females entering grade I, 1976-1984.

There appear to be two critical periods when drop-out rates are particularly marked. The highest drop-out rate for both male and females occurs between or within grades I and II. The second most critical period falls between or within grades IV and V. There is also a relatively high drop-out rate between grades V and VI.

Overall female enrolments have improved considerably over the last decade. However, six provinces still have less than 50 per cent of the 7-12 year old female population in school. Although female retention rates are slightly better than those of males, more than 30 per cent of those who enrol, do not complete grade VI.

Whilst the increased female participation in community schooling is encouraging, there is no justification for complacency. Papua New Guinea cannot afford such under-utilization of human and educational resources.

Table 2.5. Male drop-out rates by grade, 1976-1984

Grade	*I*		*II*		*III*		*IV*		*V*		*VI*
1976	31665	-12.5%	30086	-8.3%	24072	-5.3%	28747	-19.0%	21307	-10.0%	20969
1977	35781	-10.5	27710	-4.5	27600	-7.8	22787	- 7.3	23283	- 5.3	19176
1978	31806	- 8.0	32036	-8.5	26454	-7.5	25445	- 3.6	21125	- 5.8	22046
1979	37177	-10.8	29272	-8.6	29392	-8.5	24463	- 6.8	24517	-12.2	19904
1980	35472	-10.1	33153	-4.7	26754	-6.1	26800	- 5.5	22791	- 6.9	21519
1981	39054	- 9.0	31872	-7.5	31604	-5.7	25115	- 7.4	25337	- 7.7	21029
1982	37054	-13.4	31872	-9.3	29484	-5.5	29475	-10.2	23251	- 6.6	23390
1983	42271	- 9.3	32735	-4.2	32244	-4.4	27865	- 8.1	26448	- 5.2	21725
1984	43761		38365		31382		30840		25608		25094
Average Inter-Grade Drop-Out Rate		-10.4		-6.9		-6.5		- 8.5		- 7.5	

Table 2.6 Female drop-out rates by grade, 1976-1984

Grade	*I*		*II*		*III*		*IV*		*V*		*VI*
1976	20768	-10.0%	20232	-15.0%	15052	-8.1%	14827	-10.8%	11858	-12.5%	10892
1977	23941	- 8.9	18694	- 4.5	17206	-5.0	13837	- 6.9	13223	- 6.1	10370
1978	22508	- 5.5	21811	- 9.2	17844	-1.8	16346	- 7.3	12889	- 5.7	12416
1979	26713	-11.1	21275	-11.0	19832	-6.9	17529	-12.4	15158	- 3.5	12159
1980	26465	-10.4	23753	- 4.4	18937	-5.3	18464	- 4.3	15354	- 8.4	14627
1981	29481	- 9.8	23725	- 6.3	22715	-5.4	17933	- 7.8	17661	- 3.0	14062
1982	30735	-15.8	26603	- 8.1	22230	-4.9	21490	-10.0	16537	- 6.7	16063
1983	32732	- 8.7	25890	- 4.4	24435	-4.7	21132	- 8.9	19349	- 5.2	15427
1984	33969		29895		24760		23308		19272		18362
Average Inter-Grade Drop-Out Rate		-10.0		- 7.8		-5.3		- 8.5		- 7.1	

Source: Bray (1989), except for 1984 figures.

Chapter Three

FACTORS AFFECTING THE ENROLMENT AND RETENTION OF GIRLS IN COMMUNITY SCHOOL

The achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) involves consideration of three factors: access to schools; utilization of schools and retention of pupils for the duration of their primary schooling. Where schooling is available, boys and girls should, in principle, have equal access. Yet as Chapter Two indicated, fewer girls than boys are attending and retention rates for both boys and girls are low. The problem is not new, neither has it gone unnoticed. However, whilst much armchair discussion has occurred, little systematic attempt has been made to collect and collate the opinions of teachers and education administrators, or to determine the extent to which their opinions correlate with the reasons given by parents and drop-outs.

An investigation was conducted during 1985 to obtain information specifically related to female enrolment and retention.

The aims of the study were three fold. It was carried out in order to obtain:

1. the opinions of a wide representation of people within the education network to

   a) find out why females of school age are not enrolled in school and,

   b) find out why females are dropping out of school before finishing grade VI;

2. information from individual male and female drop-outs and the parents of drop-outs on why they (or their children) left school, in order to ascertain whether there are regional or gender differences in stated reasons for withdrawal from school;

3. information from headmasters and teachers, on all 1984 drop-outs from their schools. Specifically, pupils' reasons for dropping out and teachers ratings of drop-out's academic performance and in-school behaviour.

Six hundred and eighty five people in 16 provinces were interviewed individually or through small group discussion, using a structured interview format as a basis for questioning. Respondents included (in order of frequency of representation): parents; female drop-outs; male drop-outs; teachers; boards of management; headmasters; and administrators, (assistant secretaries, planners, inspectors). In addition, information on 185 male and 115 female 1984 drop-outs was obtained through tracer studies conducted by teachers of 17 schools.

Figure 3.1 shows the most frequently mentioned factors considered to affect the enrolment and retention of female community school pupils.

Figure 3.1. In-School and out-of-school factors affecting female enrolment and retention

Out-of-School Factors	In-School Factors
– Cultural/historical factors; – Geographic factors; – Attitude of parents; – Disillusionment with schooling; restricted high school entry and limited employment prospects; – Family labour requirements; – Marriage; and – Tribal fighting.	– Age of entry; – Supply of teaching materials/aids; – School fees; – Sexual liasion and sexual harassment; and – Quality of the learning environment.

Many of these factors were identified in a recently published document related to community school drop-out (Bray, 1984). However, because this study does not distinguish between factors affecting males and females nor discuss whether there is reason to do so, its use as a basis for making decisions pertaining to female education is limited. Furthermore, because the source of the data base is not provided, it cannot be determined whose opinions are being presented, whether they are equally applicable to different regions of the country, which factors are most frequently stated nor which are the most powerful determinents of school drop-out.

Within the present study, whilst a consistent pool of reasons for poor female enrolment and retention was obtained, considerable difference in emphasis was observed between different groups of respondents, in terms of factors considered to have greatest impact. Education administrators (assistant secretaries and senior officers) suggested, in order of priority, that cultural factors, geographic limitations, family labour requirements and early betrothal were of greatest importance. Headmasters and teachers emphasised the attitude of parents, geographic limitations restricted entry to high school and family labour requirements. Parents stressed disillusionment with schooling, geographic limitations and fear of sexual harassment. Female drop-outs stated laziness and boredom, the unconcerned attitude of parents and teachers, restricted entry into high school and sexual harassment as having greatest impact.

There was a substantial overlap between factors considered to affect enrolment and factors affecting retention. This was particularly the case with out-of-school factors where the physical environment, the economic basis and available resources of the village, and the attitude of the parents and the community toward schooling, have a major impact on both enrolment and retention.

It appears that where physical access is possible, the most important out of school factor affecting both enrolment and retention is the attitude of parents (particularly fathers) to the status and education of women. Where parents are keen to see their daughters educated, most other factors can be overcome.

Each of the in-school and out-of-school factors presented in Figure 3.1 is discussed below.

Out-of-school factors

Sex roles have traditionally been very clearly defined in Papua New Guinean society. Little power and few rights have been afforded women, both traditionally and legally. The degree to which women are still considered inferior to men is largely a function of isolation and length of western contact in a given area. Isolated provinces such as Enga and remote areas of more developed provinces

which are among the last to experience sustained and widespread western contact and development, display a more rigid adherence to traditional roles and values.

Discussions with parents throughout the provinces revealed a consistent order of priorities:

a) The education of boys;

b) Fulfilment of the requirement for adequate female labour at home and in the gardens; and

c) The education of girls.

Thus, if (a) and (b) above, are no longer adequately provided for (for example, due to mothers ill-health, or lack of money for school fees that particular year), the girl is likely to be denied enrolment or required by parents to leave school. Fulfilment of (a) and (b) above, appear to be necessary but not sufficient pre-requisites for schooling to commence or continue. At this point, all other factors affecting female enrolment and retention become potential constraints.

The lack of status traditionally given to women has other important, although less visible consequences. Parents may provide little encouragement for girls to remain in school or to perform well or may provide differential encouragement for boys and girls. Eighty per cent of female drop-outs interviewed (n = 346) stated that the need for greater parental interest and encouragement was a major factor contributing to retention of girls in school. Females run the risk of not being able to sustain sufficient motivation themselves, to overcome the many obstacles mitigating against their schooling, or of adapting the ambivalent or uncommitted attitude of their parents, frequently resulting in poor performance, increasing absenteeism and eventual drop-out.

Geographic factors

Many children are forced to walk or canoe for durations in excess of an hour each morning and afternoon, in order to attend school. The National Planning Office (1983) indicated that in 1978/1979, 40 per cent – 50 per cent of the population of Gulf and Morobe and 33 per cent of the population of Southern Highlands, Enga

and West New Britain lived more than one hours travelling time from the nearest school (Bray, 1984). In the present sample, 38 per cent of male and female drop-outs had to travel in excess of an hour to attend (n = 600). There are two components to problems of physical access to school. First, the fatique factor. Headmasters state that children travelling long distances frequently arrive at school tired and hungry, which, despite the immense effort they have made to attend, limits their concentration and ability to assimilate information. The opinion of most headmasters was that although absenteeism was moderately high in children from outlying villages, the reasons for absenteeism were more frequently climatic (track too wet, rivers impassable) than attitudinal. The fatigue factor is more likely to result in withdrawal from school of younger male and female children.

Parents fear for the safety of their daughters was the second problem associated with physical access to school. Such fears were not necessarily associated with lengthy travelling time or fatique but were fears of sexual abuse – a potential problem in both urban and rural areas. In some cases parents fears were based upon known experiences of sexual abuse, in some on the potential for abuse, and in others, on the fear that their daughters may willingly involve themselves in sexual relationships which might preclude later, more acceptable marriages.

Problems associated with physical access to school tend to have greatest affect on the non-enrolment or withdrawal from school of grade I and grade II boys and girls and the withdrawal of grade V and VI girls.

Attitude of parents

This issue was raised earlier as the single most important factor affecting female enrolment and retention. One consistent characteristic emerging from discussions with parents was their ambivalent attitude toward female education. Whilst the ideal of female education is generally perceived favourably, the fear of its effect on village life, values, and parental control, together with the financial risks involved, were often seen to outweigh the perceived advantages – particularly in remote areas where the adherence to traditional values

was strong, the need for female labour was great and the potential for entry into high school and paid employment was small.

When parents were asked whether it was important for their sons to: (i) go to school, and; (ii) to complete grade VI, 89 per cent of parents considered it was both important for males to go to school and important for them to complete grade VI, 2 per cent considered it important for males to go to school but not important to finish grade VI, and; 9 per cent were unsure (n = 333).

When parents were asked the same questions with reference to their daughters, 56 per cent of parents considered it was both important for females to go to school and important to complete grade VI; 14 per cent responded that it was not important for girls to go to school, but if they went, it was important to complete grade VI; 22 per cent responded that it was important for girls to go to school but not important to complete grade VI, and 8 per cent were unsure (n = 333).

Most parents of drop-outs had little formal schooling themselves. Within the study sample, 38 per cent of the parents had not attended a school of any sort. In 74 per cent of cases, both parents had between zero and two years of schooling. In only 14 per cent of cases, one or more parent had obtained a grade VI or higher education. The attitudes of parents towards female education may be broadly classified into four categories. Categories (i) and (iv) were the least represented within the sample and the attitudes of most parents could be classified under (ii) or (iii) below.

i) Parents who displayed little interest. In this case, female education was simply not an issue requiring much thought and the decision to attend or not, remain in school or drop-out, appeared to rest largely with the daughter.

ii) Parents whose decision to enrol and retain a girl in school was made on a cost effective basis. In this case education had to essentially hold to promise of financial reward, to be of value.

The most frequently expressed argument was that the girl would return more to the family if she were kept at home to work in the gardens, then married early, obtaining a good bride price, than she would ever earn and return in

employment after education. This is a strong case in favour of non-enrolment since a girl who begins school, then drops out, is frequently considered likely to be less satisfied with village life, less respectful, less likely to work hard, more likely to leave the village and more likely to enter into an unacceptable marriage or one which may not command as high a bride price, than a girl who was never enrolled in school.

In cases where a girl was sent to school, cost-effective arguments tended to be based upon the attitude and performance of the girl. She appeared to be encouraged to continue at school if:

- she was performing well academically,
- she retained respect for family, elders and traditions (i.e. if she did not 'humbug' or become 'bigheaded'),
- there was no change in family circumstances which required that she return home to care for family or gardens.

An academically average or below average female student who was lazy or disrespectful at home, or who displayed too active an interest in boys and socializing, was unlikely to be encouraged to continue schooling.

iii) Parents who sent their daughters to school because it was considered 'acceptable' behaviour by people who ought to know or because they saw it as part of a changing life-style from which they anticipate some undefined, almost magical return.

Many of the parents in this group expressed disillusionment with a system which failed to bring about an improvement in their lifestyle; which allowed the girls to 'feel the touch of boys on their skin as they work or play'[1] ; which 'turned their heads to the lights of town'[2] ; and which refused a large proportion of grade VI students entry to High School or paid employment at the end of six years.

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1 Male parent, Papayuku, Enga.

2 Luke Tomapae, Deputy Speaker, Enga Provincial Government.

iv) Parents who perceive education to be of intrinsic value, despite limited potential for economic return and who are able to provide sustained encouragement and a supportive learning environment at home. Such parents are generally educated, in paid employment and live in towns where learning opportunities and facilities are already relatively high. Or, they live in provinces such as Manus and East New Britain where schooling has been available for sufficient time that most children attend as a matter of course, even though employment prospects are no longer as rosy as they were a decade ago, because of the large number of educated people now competing for relatively few jobs.

When parents were asked whether girls who left school after completing some or all primary schooling made better wives and mothers, 40 per cent said "Yes". Three main reasons were offered to support this stance (listed in order of frequency of response):

a) They have a better understanding of childcare, hygiene nutrition and agriculture.

b) They are a greater support to their husbands, they can assist with budgeting, demonstrate greater self-control and care for themselves better.

c) They can instil in their children a positive attitude toward education and can provide answers for their husband and children.

Fourteen per cent affirmed that educated females make better wives but qualified their stance thus:

a) Only where schools taught skills such as cooking and agriculture.

b) Only if they marry well-educated boys – otherwise their level of education badly affects their relationship with their husbands.

c) Only if they can retain their appreciation for traditional ways and avoid becoming 'bigheaded'.

Thirty seven per cent of parents responded that educated girls do not make better wives and mothers. Three reasons were offered:

a) They have no respect for traditions, their parents or their husbands.

b) Education spoils the girls. They do not work as hard for their families as non-educated wives.

c) Education is unrelated to the task of being a wife and mother.

Eight per cent responded they did not know – generally followed by the statement that some girls do make better wives whereas others do not (total n = 333).

Disillusionment with schooling: restricted high school entry and limited employment prospects

Parental disillusionment is closely related to parental attitude discussed above, and includes both in-school and out-of-school components. The limited number of places in high school and the few employment opportunities for children who do not have a high school education, are the major sources of parental disillusionment with schooling. Most parents perceive females as less likely than males to gain entry into high school, less likely to gain employment as a grade VI leaver and less likely to sustain employment even after high school education, because of anticipated marriage and family responsibilities. Thus, females are a poor financial investment – particularly in rural areas. Even though the costs of community schooling are relatively small, so are the perceived benefits, other than the prospect of financial return.

At the time of independence, the new national government expressed concern over the extent to which primary school education was, in fact, meeting the needs of the majority of pupils for whom prospects of a high school education were unrealistic. The Education Plan, 1976-1980 stated 'the time is long passed when the main aim of these (primary) schools was to prepare children for secondary education and jobs in town.' Primary Schools were changed in name to Community Schools to reflect the change in emphasis but apart from the introduction of a Community Life Syllabus which included

the teaching of agriculture and cultural activities, the change was essentially a change in name only. Over the last decade, concern with improving standards in education has meant that there is simply not enough time to include in the curriculum, the teaching of skills more relevant to daily village life.

Today, the dilemma continues. Whilst the Government is committed to striving for Universal Primary Education it also wishes to improve the quality of education and quality is usually measured in terms of improved academic standards rather than appropriateness to needs. With limited funds it is difficult to adequately improve the quality of teaching, the physical and learning environment of the schools and also implement measures to improve access to schools, improve enrolment and retention rates and modify the curriculum to cater for the needs of the majority.

Parents were also ambivalent about where change ought to occur. Whilst disillusionment with the rewards of education was widespread, many stated that they did not want the emphasis of the curriculum changed to include more community based skills since this would further lower the chances of their children obtaining a sufficient grasp of the academic skills required to gain entry into high school. Three other contrating effects of restricted entry in high school were noted. The *first*, observed in remote areas of Enga and West Sepik, although probably occurring more widely, was parents fear that a girl may in fact gain entry to high school – an event that would require her to move away for schooling or later, to obtain higher training or employment. The rewards and prestige gained must be weighed against the risk of the girl relinquishing her immediate ties with the village. A *second* effect related to parental embarrassment was that a number of children, especially girls, were withdrawn from school during grade VI because of parents' fear they would not be able to pay high school fees, should the child be selected. *Thirdly*, the pressure on children to succeed in school is immense – particularly where parents have sacrificed much for their attendance. Four boys and nine girls sampled, in fact left school during grade VI prior to exams for fear of doing poorly in the exams or failing to gain a place in high school.

Until parents perceive community school education as being of benefit in itself, despite limited opportunities for high school entry, their disillusionment will continue to have a deleterious affect on

enrolment and retention – particularly of females – and result in grade VI leavers, leaving with a sense of having failed. However, whilst such a chasm remains between the school curriculum and the skills directly required for community development, there is little basis upon which to convince parents of the intrinsic benefits and value to the community, of community school education.

Family labour requirements

The requirement for female labour at home is frequently cited by educators and administrators as an important factor affecting female enrolment and wastage. It appears unlikely, however, to be as important in accounting for wastage as the frequency with which it is mentioned suggests, although it has a more direct effect on non-enrolment. Cases were noted throughout all provinces of parents choosing not to send a daughter to school at all, in order to maintain an ongoing labour supply. In many instances, the decision to retain a girl at home was a complex one, often more related to parents commitment to early-promised marriages, desire to secure a bride price as soon as possible, or desire to maximize odds by sending some girls and not others to school, than to a need for labour *per se*. In other cases, the decision to retain a girl at home occured as a result of earlier unsatisfactory schooling experiences such as an incident of sexual abuse of female pupils, poor performance or behaviour and subsequent drop-out of an older daughter, or a daughter's failure to gain entry into high school.

It was not common, however, within the study sample for girls to be *withdrawn* from school to provide labour, unless a change in family circumstances had occurred. Such changes may be due to births, illnesses or deaths within the family, to gardens being damaged by natural disasters, tribal fighting, or pigs, or due to the need for additional food supplies because of the imminence of an important celebration.

As was also the case when lack of money for school fees was given as a reason for drop out, the need for female labour was sometimes stated to cover a more important reason, or a reason which was considered too embarrassing to say. Examples of such reasons, revealed only after a greater degree of rapport had been established, were: sexual involvement of teachers and boys with female pupils;

misbehaviour and expulsion or parents perception that school had made their daughter 'bigheaded and good for nothing'.

Marriage

Except where a girl had become pregnant or had run away with a man, most school withdrawals due to marriage occurred in order to fulfil arranged marriage obligations. Early betrothal, with protection and separation of the girl until she reached the appropriate age for sexual relations was particularly frequent in the Highlands, Sepik and Western provinces. In West Sepik some girls as young as nine or ten were promised in marriage and then taken out of school to ensure their protection and to prepare for the event. Others left their families to live with the family of their betrothed (usually an older man) until they were of marriageable age. Schooling also generally ceased.

It appears that once a girl is marked for marriage, there is little incentive for her to continue schooling. This is exacerbated by the strong feeling throughout all provinces sampled, that continued community school education after marriage or pregnancy was inappropriate.

Tribal fighting

Tribal fighting is still common in the Highlands, particularly Enga. Schools do not usually appear to be targets, except in cases of dispute over the ownership of school land. However, children are frequently kept at home for fear of 'pay back' and boys may be taken out of school to participate in the fighting. Classes are sometimes suspended or schools closed because of Engan teachers' fears for their own safety. After the cessation of fighting some girls may be retained at home to help restore damaged gardens or, where Moka ceremonies are practised, to assist in the preparation of food and gifts for the Moka. Children may also be obliged to transfer schools to avoid entry into enemy territory whilst travelling to school. Parents state that girls in particular, are often too shy to break into a new school structure midway through schooling and tend not to return to school at all. Once the habit of daily school attendence is broken for whatever reason, children are less likely to make the effort to return and continue schooling.

In-school factors

The official minimum age of entry to grade I is seven. However, the majority of students are older than this. A recent study (Currin, 1985) using a representative sample of community schools throughout the country, found that only 29 per cent of all grade I children were seven years old whereas 40 per cent were nine years old or older. No province presently has a clearly defined policy by which headmasters can set priorities for age of entry to school. However, most assistant secretaries stated that preference was given to older children. In provinces such as East New Britain where almost all children attend school as a matter of course, the average age of entry to school is younger as there is little backlog of older children requesting entry. In the Highlands region, where schooling has been available for less time and the terrain makes access to school difficult, children tend to be older, and younger less robust children frequently drop-out because of the effort required. This is also the experience in areas such as Lumi where malnutrition is prevalent an older age of entry is favoured. The Lumi Community School headmaster, for example stated that most Lumi children under eight years old were not sufficiently physically or intellectually developed to cope effectively with school.

Unfortunately, whilst an older age of entry lessens the likelihood of drop-out due to fatigue, it appears to have a detrimental effect on the retention of girls in higher grades who are then often physically mature women, more open to sexual abuse, and of marriageable age.

In addition, by the time a girl reaches the age of eight or nine, she has already been incorporated into the daily activity structure of the village. Instilling the habit of daily school attendance appears to become more difficult as age of entry increases, although this depends on the commonly accepted age of entry within the district. Where a school has a grade I intake only every two or three years, the age range of children seeking entry becomes even more extended. The effect on enrolment and retention of both males and females is two-fold. *Firstly*, where there is an oversupply of children for a class, teachers request that some children return home and wait for the next intake – by which time many have lost interest, become incorporated into village activities or consider themselves too old to

enter into school. *Secondly*, older children who have become more physically mature than their peers are often ashamed of mixing closely with younger children and subsequently drop-out.

Some teachers stated that they gave little encouragement to older children since a widely differing age range created additional work, largely because curriculum materials and activities suitable for seven year olds were frequently not received favourably by children considerably older.

Sexual liaison and sexual harassment

It is unclear how frequently female pupils are harassed by teachers and male pupils. Certainly, this is an important concern of parents. While it is to be hoped that their concern is more because of the emotivity of the issue than the frequency of occurrence, Chapter Four points out that girls appear to drop-out for reasons associated with sexuality more often than envisaged.

The effect of sexually related incidents is not limited to those who have been directly involved, but may influence the attitude of the community towards schooling over a considerable period of time and may jeopardize the chances of school age females being enrolled during this period, not withstanding the removal of the offending teacher.

Although rape or coersion were the major fears, the possibility of daughters willingly establishing relationships was also of concern. About 75 per cent of parents interviewed indicated a preference for sending their daughters to a mission school, where a choice were possible. Three reasons were given. *Firstly* girls were more likely to be instilled with strong Christian values and a sense of moral rightness in such a school. *Secondly*, mission schools generally provided closer supervision of both pupils and teachers, and more stringent punishment for misdemeanours – lessening the likelihood of sexual involvement. *Thirdly* the standard of teaching tended to be higher because mission teachers perceived teaching as a Christian calling, requiring a high level of commitment. It must be noted however, that these three generalizations represent the attitudes of the parents, not the results of the study.

School fees

Community school fees range from K2.00 to about K15.00 per annum (1K = 1 US$). Whilst such an amount is usually obtainable when families are small, it may become a considerable burden when families are large. Within the present study, 30 per cent of female drop-outs came from families of six to eight children and 69 per cent, from families of five or more children. When parents also have to accumulate sufficient funds to maintain one or more child in high school, decisions may have to be made as to whether to support the child in high school or enrol or maintain another in community school since 1985 high school fees now range from K60-194 (day pupils) to K70-280 (boarders) per annum. High schools can however, reduce fees at the discretion of the Board of Management in cases of hardship. Many parents requested the introduction of free primary education. This was, in fact, tried several years ago and provinces were given the power to waive fees. Only a few provinces did so, and with a change of government, the decision was reversed anyway. The duration during which the scheme was operative was insufficient to accurately gauge its affect on enrolment. A large number of head-masters suggested however, that the payment of fees provided an important incentive for parents to encourage regular school attend-ance, and should not be waived.

A number of schools already operate subsidy schemes which offer a reduction in total fees payable when three or more children from a family attend. The encouragement of more widespread use of such schemes is probably of more overall benefit than a total waiving of fees.

Quality of the learning environment

It was earlier stated that the attitude of the parents, particularly fathers, towards the education of girls was the single most important out-of-school factor affecting enrolment and retention.

The most important in-school factor affecting retention appears to be the quality of the classroom learning environment.

The teachers understanding of the curriculum; ability to impro-vise and compensate for lack of materials; classroom management techniques; level of enthusiasm; standard of professional ethics; and

attitude toward teaching practise, attendance, female education and school-community relations are important determinants of the learning environment.

Factors such as the quality of teacher housing, the availability of household supplies and the amount of support provided by the staff and community also all affect the attitude of the teacher. An immense amount of commitment is required of community school teachers, particularly those in remote areas. Often teachers need to fill a variety of other roles within the school and community whilst living in substandard houses, long distances from aid posts and supplies, where mail and pay cheques arrive irregularly and where materials and books are often grossly inadequate and may arrive months after the beginning of a school year. Such demands tax the ability of even the most dedicated teacher to provide a stimulating learning environment.

Chapter Three discussed in school and out of school factors raised by parents, teachers and administrators to account for the poor enrolment and retention of girls in community school. Whilst many of the factors affect both boys and girls, boys were generally given first preference for schooling when resources were limited.

Three factors appear to have greatest affect on female enrolment and particularly, retention. *Firstly*, the attitude of parents (especially fathers) towards the status of women and their perception of the cost-effectiveness of educating females. *Secondly*, the teacher's level of skill, professional commitment and ability to create a stimulating learning environment. *Thirdly*, the girls vision of her role, status and potential and her motivation to succeed.

Chapter Four

RETENTION: WHAT THE DROP-OUTS AND THEIR PARENTS SAY

Figure 4.1 shows the reasons given by 600 community school pupils for dropping out of school. Three hundred of these pupils (185 males and 115 females) dropped out during 1984. The remainder dropped out in earlier years and are now aged between 14 and 20.

Many of the reasons listed in Figure 4.1 were raised in Chapter Three as factors considered by educators and parents to affect the education of females. Figure 4.1 shows how frequently each of these reasons were in fact, reasons for drop-out, as stated by the drop-outs.

Chapter Four highlights four important differences in emphasis between the reasons given by communities, educators and administrators to account for female drop-out (usually with reference to someone else's children), and the reasons given by individual drop-outs and the parents of drop-outs, with reference to their own cases. *Firstly*, lack of interest was the reason most frequently stated by both males and females, not cultural factors, labour requirements or need for bride price. *Secondly*, a cause for concern was the frequency, with which some factors not usually considered by educators to be primary reasons for drop-out, were raised. Two such factors requiring further investigation, are the percentage of girls within the sample leaving for reasons associated with sexual liasion or fear of sexual harassment, and the number of children, particularly males, who on transferring to another district did not re-enrol in school. *Thirdly*, the high proportion of in-school factors accounting for drop-out consolidates statements made in Chapter Three to the effect that a close appraisal of the school environment is necessary. Finally, the considerable overlap between factors accounting for female drop-out and those accounting for male drop-out, suggests that strategies designed to overcome many of these problems will improve the retention of both males and females.

Figure 4.1 Reasons Stated for Individual Male and Female Drop-out (in order of frequency)

Reason given for male drop-out		*No.*	*Per cent*	*Reason given for female drop-out*		*No.*	*Per cent*
Laziness/boredom/lack of interest	I*	43	16.9	Laziness/boredom/lack of interest	I	53	15.3
School too far away – fatigue/too much effort	O	23	9.1	School too far away – fatigue/fear for safety/too much effort required	O	38	11
Transferred out of area didn't re-enrol	O	22	8.7	Lessons too hard – childs choice to leave	I	29	8.4
Misbehaviour/"big-headedness" – child withdrawn at parents request	?	20	7.9	Change in family circumstances – childs labour required at home	O	25	7.2
Lessons too hard – child's own choice to leave	I	19	7.5	Misbehaviour/"big-headedness" – child withdrawn at parents request	?	24	6.9
Expelled	I	16	6.3	Marriage	O	18	5.2
Child ran away after frequent misbehaviour and punishment	I	14	5.5	Frequent sickness	O	17	4.9
Change in family circumstances, childs labour required at home	O	14	5.5	Transferred out of the area – didn't re-enrol	O	15	4.3
Ashamed to attend because of poor clothing and lack of food for lunch	I	12	4.7	Sexual attention from boys	O	13	3.8
Ashamed at being too old/big relative to other children in the grade	I	12	4.7	Withdrawn from grade VI by parents – no money for High School fees, if selected	O	13	3.8
Ran away and did not return – reason unknown	?	11	4.3	No money for fees	O	12	3.5
Involved in tribal fighting – did not return after fighting ceased	O	11	4.3	Ashamed to attend because of poor clothing and lack of food for lunch	I	12	3.5

Figure 4.1 *(continued)*

Reason given for male drop-out		*No.*	*Per cent*	*Reason given for female drop-out*		*No.*	*Per cent*
No money for school fees	O	9	3.5	Child ran away after frequent misbehaviour and punishment	I	11	3.2
Frequent sickness	O	8	3.1	Parents request – disillusioned with school	I	10	2.9
Withdrawn from grade VI by parents – no money for High School fees if selected	O	6	2.4	Ashamed at being too old/big relative to other children in class	I	9	2.6
Fear of failure – not likely to pass grade VI exams	I	4	1.6	Fear of failure – not likely to pass grade VI exams	I	9	2.6
Parents request – disillusioned with school	I	3	1.2	Too shy to participate in class	I	8	2.3
Acquired a job	O	3	1.2	Sexual attention from teacher	I	7	2.0
Too shy to participate in class	I	2	0.7	Pre-occupied thinking about boys	O	7	2.0
Engaged in Social activities outside school	O	2	0.7	Engaged in social activities outside school	O	5	1.4
				Ran away and did not return, reason unknown	?	5	1.4
Male n=254 Female n=346 Total n=600				Ran away with a male	O	3	0.87
*I = In-school factors O = Out-of-school factors				Required to repeat previous grade, withdrew during the year (shame/lack of interest)	I	2	0.58
				Too young/immature to cope	I	1	0.29

Lack of interest

Laziness, boredom and lack of interest were the most frequently stated reasons for both males and females dropping out of school (males: 16.9 per cent, females: 15.3 per cent, n=600).

When drop-outs were questioned about why they were not interested in school, the most fundamental reason given was that school did not hold sufficient advantages and attractiveness to compete with the advantages and attractiveness of day-to-day village life. Five more specific components of lack of interest were offered in response to further probing.

a) Too much time was spent sitting down in the classrooms. "Always thinking and not doing anything all day made me unhappy."

b) Materials were in short supply. Two or three children frequently had to share a single book or a desk designed for one; pencils and paper were insufficient or not available.

c) Lessons were perceived as boring. Children found it difficult to maintain the required output of work. Furthermore, many children had little expectation of going to high school. Thus school was neither intrinsically satisfying nor likely to lead to high school entry and well paid employment. "My eyes kept walking to the sea all day". "I was always thinking of boys and getting married. I was no use at school and school was no use to me".

d) Village life involved less pressure, required less decision-making and offered fewer restrictions on the way in which time was occupied.

e) Non-school attending peers placed pressure on those attending to stay home and engage in such activities as fishing, card playing or social events.

The above five points were raised by both male and female drop-outs. An issue raised specifically by females was that male pupils were often given more time and attention by teachers. Both male and female teachers were criticised on this count, although many girls felt male teachers were more supportive than female teachers.

When male and female drop-outs were asked whether they preferred a male or female teacher, more preferred a male (39.5 per cent) rather than a female (19.5 per cent) although 41 per cent of drop-outs had no preference (n=600). Thirty six per cent of females expressed preference for a female teacher, while 55 per cent per cent of males preferred a male teacher. The most frequently stated reasons for girls prefering a female teacher were that male teachers were too friendly with some of the girls and that female teachers were more gentle, thus girls were not so shy to speak. The most frequently stated reasons for girls prefering a male teacher were that, they 'know' more, they provide fairer discipline and encourage girls more, and that female teachers were too often away attending to family problems.

Teachers' own values and priorities are conveyed to their pupils in many subtle and often unintended ways – the most fundamental of which is the amount and quality of time various groups or individuals are given. In some cases it is the bright children who are favoured; for example, in some classrooms visited where insufficient desks were available, bright children were placed at desks, whilst slower children sat on the floor – further reducing the performance and self-confidence of the less able students. Where teachers perceive that educating girls is of less value – for whatever reasons – than educating boys, girls may receive less eye-contact, be asked fewer questions, given fewer positions of responsibility and get away with producing a lower standard of work than boys. The extent, to which this in fact occurs, requires further investigation.

A recent survey (Yeoman, 1984) using a modified Flanders system for classroom observation, indicated that in thirteen classrooms where the ratio of girls to boys was roughly equal, girls were asked an average of 38 per cent of questions. Girls received 42 per cent of the questions asked by male teachers, but only 35 per cent of the questions asked by female teachers. Questions were classified according to whether they were of open or closed form. An open question was defined as a question where the response had not already been determined by the questioner and where a range of acceptable responses were possible. A closed question was one requiring a yes or a no answer or a question where the questioner had pre-selected one single response as the only acceptable answer, even where a range of answers were logically or factually correct. An

analysis of questioning style showed that 81 per cent of all questions asked in 13 classrooms over a period of 24 contact teaching hours, were closed questions.

The same survey showed that the most frequently observed teaching style was formal lecturing, where pupils remain passive listeners for large proportions of time. Less systematic observations in more than 50 other schools confirm this as the most common approach. There are several likely reasons for this. *Firstly*, within a two year training much time must be given to mastery of content, thus limiting time spent on teaching classroom and behaviour management techniques. Control problems are also limited if children remain behind desks. *Secondly*, the versatility of teaching style and active involvement of the learners requires greater physical space than formal lecturing, and space is often very limited. It also requires the availability of teaching materials or the creativity to utilize bush materials as teaching aids. *Thirdly*, if it could be assumed that teachers had complete mastery of the curriculum and that the teaching time allocations on the timetable were, in reality, all available and utilized within the subject areas specified, then teachers would still be struggling to cover the curriculum – assuming that students required minimal repetition to master the material. However, it is unlikely that all, if any, of these criteria are fulfilled. The use of a formal lecturing style aids rapid coverage of subject material and also preserves the self-confidence of teachers, as their own learning deficiency is less likely to be observed. It is also likely to limit pupils mastery and teachers ability to detect learning difficulties.

Community school teachers are faced with a huge task. Whilst some undoubtedly become disillusioned by the impossibility of fulfilling all the demands placed upon them and perform at a lower level than that of which they are capable, it is to the credit of the majority that they maintain a high level of motivation and perform to the best of their ability, despite the difficulties at present inherent in the task.

The development of Education Resource Centres in several provinces as a sub-project under the World Bank funded First Primary Education Project, has provided opportunities for teachers to develop new skills. The Second Primary Education Project, which

will now probably commence in 1987, includes an intensive review of teacher education. With careful pre-planning, this could provide the mechanism for an assessment of the priority needs of student teachers and the problems encountered during early teaching years, and is planned to result in the development of a three year teacher training programme which allows time for assimilating a wide range of teaching styles and versatile classroom management techniques as well as mastery of content. Attention must also be given to the quantity of curriculum content required to be covered and to its appropriateness, relative to the needs and aspirations of the majority of learners.

Where parental encouragement is low, the possibility of continuing through the education system and obtaining employment is low, the level of interest in what is being taught is low, its usefulness for anything other than securing the next rank in the education system is perceived to be limited, and the attractiveness of activities and friendships outside the school is high. Thus, it is not difficult to understand why the attitude of many pupils to schooling is less than positive and retention is poor.

Factors Associated with sexual liason

A grave concern is the number of girls leaving school because of marriage, consenting involvement with male teachers or pupils, sexual harassment from male teachers or pupils, fears for safety whilst en-route to school or parents concern over the reputed involvement of a male teacher with a pupil (16 per cent, n=346). This issue was discussed earlier. What is important to note, is the frequency with which it is raised, both by parents and female drop-outs.

Strategies to improve the situation must focus on alleviating the incidence of sexual abuse, minimising the within-school opportunities for establishing male-female intimate relationships, increasing disciplinary measures for teachers who breach professional ethics, and ensuring families rather than single males, where possible, are allocated to areas where little social contact is available.

Non re-enrolment after transferring to another area

A surprising high number of children transferred out of the area in which they were previously living and did not re-enrol upon chang-

ing location (males: 8.9 per cent, n=254; females: 4.3 per cent, n=346) Five factors may influence whether a child is re-enrolled.

a) A transfer card must be obtained by parents from the previous school before a child is allowed to enrol at a new school. If parents fail to do this prior to leaving, it may be too difficult (administratively or in terms of parents' level of confidence) to attend to later.

b) When parents transfer to a larger town, schools within travelling distance may be unwilling to accept additional enrollees, particularly in the lower grades where classes are large. Whilst it is policy for such children to be automatically admitted, there have been number of incidents in N.C.D. alone, where children have been turned down.

c) Where transfer occurs because of economic reasons (additional land or sea resources required), children may be required to assist parents in fishing or setting up gardens.

d) Where transfer occurs because of tribal fighting, children may be kept away from school to ensure their protection.

e) Education may not be perceived as having sufficient advantages to warrant the effort involved in entering a new school.

It is not possible to determine, given the limited sample size, whether more males than females across the total population, in fact do not re-enrol after changing location. Nevertheless, the proportion of children whose schooling was terminated for this reason is sufficiently large to warrant further investigation.

Sexual differences in reasons for dropping out

An appraisal of the categories listed in Figure 4.1 show that the five *most frequently stated* reasons for community school drop-out: (laziness, boredom, lack of interest; school too far away; lessons too hard; misbehaviour, big-headedness; and transferred out of area, did not re-enrol) account for 50 per cent of male drop-out and 42 per cent of female drop-out. Thus, the *most frequently* stated reasons for school drop-out are essentially the same for both boys and girls. Figure 4.1 also shows that the *majority* of reasons stated by males

are the same as those stated by females, except where females are leaving for reasons associated with sex or marriage. The most important implication of such overlap is that strategies developed to improve retention *per se*, will improve retention of both sexes. Additional policies and programmes are needed to redress the imbalance between male and female enrolments.

The relative importance of in-school and out-of-school factors

Figure 4.2 shows the relative impact of in-school and out-of-school factors on male and female drop-out (derived from combining I and O categories, Fig. 4.1).

Table 4.1 Percentage of in-school and out-of-school factors accounting for male and female drop-out

	Male drop-outs (n=254)	*Female drop-outs (n=346)*
In-school factors	49.1 (61.3)	43.7 (52.0)
Out-of-school factors	38.7	48.0
*	12.2	8.3

* It is difficult to determine whether the categories 'Misbehaviour/bigheadedness-child withdrawn at parent's request'; and 'Ran away and did not return, reason unknown' are more appropriately placed as in-school or out-of-school factors. In the first instance, for example, although the misbehaviour may occur either within or out of school, parents perception is generally that it has been bred by school experiences.

In-school factors accounted for a greater proportion of male drop-out than out-of-school factors, whereas both factors were stated in nearly even proportions by females.

If the categories 'misbehaviour/bigheadedness' child withdrawn at parents' request' and 'Ran away and did not return' are considered to occur through in-school influences, the proportion of drop-out caused by in-school factors is higher for both males and females than that caused through out-of-school influences.

Children are not dropping out of school for reasons over which educators have no control. In about 50 per cent of cases, in-school factors are raised as the primary reason for dropping out.

Chapter Five

WHO DROPS OUT?

The academic performance and behaviour of drop-outs

Teachers from 17 rural community schools throughout Papua New Guinea were asked to name all 1984 grade I-VI drop-outs, provide reasons for children dropping out and rate each drop-out on academic performance and behaviour.

Table 5.1 shows the percentage of male and female drop-outs rated by teachers as 'always well behaved,' 'usually well behaved' and 'usually naughty.'

Table 5.1 Teachers Ratings of the Behaviour of Male and Female Drop-outs

	Male Drop-outs		*Female Drop-outs*		*Total*	
	No	*Per cent*	*No*	*Per cent*	*No*	*Per cent*
Always well behaved	44	24	35	31	79	26
Usually well behaved	96	52	75	65	171	57
Usually Naughty	45	24	5	4	50	17
Total	185	100	115	100	300	100

Table 5.1 shows that 83 per cent of drop-outs were considered by teachers to be always or usually well behaved. Ninety-six per cent of females were rated as usually or always well behaved, compared with 76 per cent of males. The greatest sexual difference occured between the percentage of males and females rated naughty (male = 24 per cent, female = 4 per cent; $x^2 = 20.4$; d.f = 2; $p < .001$). These results are consistent with those presented in Figure 4.1 earlier, which indicated that 20 per cent of males and only 10 per cent of females dropped out for reasons which they stated were due directly to misbehaviour.

A grade by grade analysis of behaviour showed that female drop outs rated 'naughty' were all drop-outs from grades I, II and IV. That is, within this relatively small sample, all drop outs from grades III, V and VI who were rated naughty, were male.

Table 5.2 provides teachers' ratings of the academic performance of drop-outs.

Table 5.2 Teachers' ratings of the academic performance of drop-outs

	Male drop-outs		*Female drop-outs*		*Total*	
	No	*Per cent*	*No*	*Per cent*	*No*	*Per cent*
Above average	30	16	15	13	45	15
Average	88	48	51	44	139	47
Below average	67	36	49	43	115	38
Total	185	100	115	100	300	100

Table 5.2 show that more males (64 per cent) than females (58 per cent) were considered of average or above average ability. When academic performance and behaviour were compared, 52 per cent of drop outs who were considered above average were also rated as always well behaved and 34 per cent of those rated below average were also considered naughty. A grade by grade analysis of academic performance showed that 49 per cent of all females rated as below average dropped out of school during grades I and II. Thus, within the study sample females rated as naughty or below average tended to drop-out of school during the early grades. Contrary to opinions frequently expressed, most children who dropped out of school (within this sample) were considered by their teachers to be usually or always well behaved and more than half were considered to be of average or above average ability. More females rated naughty or below average or both, dropped out during grades I or II than during any other period.

Chapter One stated that statistically, the two most critical periods during which female drop-out rates were highest, were between or within grades I and II and, to a lesser degree, between or within grades IV and V. The results of the tracer study concur with these periods and provide a little insight into why this may occur.

Parents and girls were asked whether their daughters (or they) withdrew through choice or were forced to leave. Sixty eight per cent of girls left through choice, while 32 per cent were forced to leave (n=346). Of those forced to leave, 48 per cent left from grades I or II and 36 per cent from grades V or VI. The most frequently stated reasons for being forced out of the early grades were poor academic performance, 'bigheadedness', or a change in family circumstances requiring labour at home. These same reasons were also given for forced withdrawal from grades V or VI. In addition, a substantial number were withdrawn because parents could not afford the high school fees if the girl were selected. It also appears that whilst older girls are generally perceived by their teachers as well behaved (according to the study sample) they may still be perceived by their parents as 'bigheaded' and subsequently withdrawn. Unfortunately, steps taken by teachers to encourage girls to be more assertive, speak up in class, think for themselves and realize their full potential may result in their being withdrawn from school because their behaviour is considered inappropriate within the village, particularly in rural areas where a narrower range of female behaviour is acceptable.

Regional differences in factors affecting females drop-out

A much larger study sample would have been necessary to allow for a valid analysis of provincial differences. However, there appear to be a pool of factors affecting female retention which are consistent across different regions of the country, although the frequency with which various factors are stated and the degree of importance attributed to some factors, varies from place to place. Predictably, the major differences occur between coastal/island – interior regions and between and urban – rural areas.

Coastal/Islands-Interior Regions

The major differences between the two above categories are (i) the degree of sustained Western contact, (ii) the accessibility of the region, (iii) the degree of infrastructual development, (iv) the degree to which traditional cultural values are upheld, and, (v) the perceived role and status of females within the society. Generally, the Highlands/interior have less of (i) (ii) and (iii) above, and adhere more

Figure 5.1 Differences between factors affecting female retention in an urban coastal region and a rural interior region

Urban Coastal Region	*Rural Interior Region*
1. Lack of out-of-school parental supervision and discipline.	1. More rigid adherence to traditional female roles.
2. Difficulty in re-enrolling children when family transfers to larger centre (overcrowding in lower grades, parents difficulty in asserting themselves or attending to administration, childs reticence at entering a new school).	2. Subsistence economies require a greater input of female labour.
3. Greater availability of a range of social activities and more peer group pressure to engage in such activities.	3. The effect of arranged early marriages — disincentive for bethrothed females to attend school.
4. The anonymity of a city — individual drop-outs or absentees are not so obvious.	4. The effect of tribal fighting.
	5. The fear of both losing out on bride price and gaining no financial return from attempts to educate females.
	6. The majority of parents have had no opportunities for formal education-first generation schooling.
	7. Physical distance/difficulty in travelling to school.
	8. The mystique associated with school and the fear of erosion of traditional values and life style.
	9. The fear of daughters lusting after a better life-style and moving into town.
	10. The lack of opportunities for high schooling or employment within the area and the financial, emotional and social difficulties involved in the girls moving to a larger centre for further education.
	11. The prolonged effect on communities of teacher professional misconduct.
	12. The shortage of female teachers in remote areas — fewer models of females in non-traditional roles or positions of professional responsibility.

rigidly to traditional values regarding the role and appropriate behaviour of women.

Urban-rural areas

Most factors contributing to inter-regional differences, also contribute to differences within regions. Thus, the greatest variation in the type of factors influencing female retention are likely to occur between an urban, coastal city such as Port Moresby and a remote interior region such as Kompiam in Enga. Figure 5.1 shows some of the major differences in emphasis between factors likely to contribute to female retention in two such regions. Factors which affect both regions to a similar degree have been excluded. It may be observed that major differences pertain to out-of-school factors associated with the level of infrastructural development.

School-community liaison

Much parental disillusionment with the school system occurs because of lack of understanding of the benefits and limitations of schooling. Many parents are also unaware that their children are not attending school regularly until it is too late. Good school-community relations, careful monitoring of attendance and follow up of non-attenders may improve enrolment and retention.

Table 5.3 shows the percentage of parents in the sample who were visited by a school representative to discuss the non-attendance or behaviour of their daughters, before or after the child dropped out of school.

Table 5.3 Percentage of parents visited by a school representative

	By Whom									
			Headmaster		*B.O.M.*		*Teacher*		*Others (Community Liaison Helpers, Church Reps.)*	
	No.	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*
Visited	138	33	58	42	44	32	20	14	16	12
Not Visited	280	67	n = 418 (Sample includes parents and females)							

Table 5.3 shows that 33 per cent of all parents and females sampled, had been visited by a school representative before or after the time a decision to leave school was made. The person most likely to make the visit was the Headmaster (42 per cent). In 72 per cent of cases, the school representatives came from small, two-six teacher schools.

The attitude of parents and daughters to visits from school representatives was mixed. Table 5.4 shows that while parents and females generally welcomed visits, parents were more supportive than girls.

Table 5.4 Attitude of parents and female drop-outs to visits from school representatives

	Like Visits		*Dislike Visits*	
	No.	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*
Parents (n = 313)	213	68	100	32
Female drop-outs (n = 105)	57	54	48	46

Figure 5.2 provides examples of the most frequently stated attitudes toward visits from school representatives.

While most respondents appear to desire greater involvement and liaison with the school, visits to communities must be conducted sensitively with consideration of the possible negative affects on parent-child and school-community relationships. Several Community Liaison Helpers (Community representatives employed in Madang Province to follow up non attending pupils) for example, tell stories of being chased out of villages with sticks by fathers who became hostile toward school intervention. For visits to be maximally useful, efforts must be made by staff to include parents in more positive aspects of school life and to establish sound relationships with community members so that school intervention is not perceived to only occur as a result of negative behaviour.

Papua New Guinea is currently undergoing a transition period with respect to female education. The proportion of school age females in school has increased markedly over the past few years, but so has parents' awareness of the harsh reality that only a few children

Figure 5.2 Most frequently stated attitudes of parents and female Drop-outs to visits from school representatives

Attitude of Parents	
Like visits	*Dislike visits*
1. We are eager to learn about the activities of the school and the behaviour of our children. When teachers make the effort to come we are encouraged to send our children and work harder for the school.	1. We feel ashamed and can't speak properly. Better if they send a note home then a representative can visit the school.
2. We are often unaware of the problems until it is too late. It is best for teachers to come early when they first notice bad behaviour.	2. School matters should be dealt with at school. Home is private.
3. We are shy to come to school or to talk at P.C. Meetings.	3. We should be specially asked to attend P.C. Meetings.
4. We become bitter at the school and the child if they leave without us knowing why.	4. It is our business if our children leave school. We have our reasons.
5. Teachers should come anyway. Not just when there are problems – especially early in the year before enrolment. We need to know if our children are good or bad, slow or fast.	
Attitude of Female Drop-outs	
Like visits	*Dislike visits*
1. Parents are shy to come to school but eager to understand.	1. We feel shame.
2. We are proud that the teachers want to come. It shows that they care and it gives parents confidence.	2. Teachers mean to help but our parents become shamed and angry and punish us; then we leave or don't work or won't go back to school anyway.
3. Visits help parents understand the importance of education; then they can encourage us.	3. Home is private. Teachers shouldn't come to the villages unless we ask.
4. Parents don't believe us when we say what happens at school.	4. It is too far and tiring for teachers to walk. They should be preparing lessons.

will have the opportunity to go to high school. Furthermore, the number of places and level of employment available to those who step off the education train before tertiary training, is now more limited than it was several years ago.

Girls with some formal education are likely to behave differently to those without. However, the negative effects of *limited* schooling may well outweigh the benefits, particularly since the curriculum is steeped toward academic subjects and drop-outs' mastery of such subjects is likely to be limited and of little use within the village.

Strategies to improve enrolment and retention must take into consideration the negative effects of limited schooling, including the effect of increasing girls assertiveness skills on the attitute of parents toward education. Consideration must also be given to differences in reason for drop-out between urban and remote areas.

Chapter Six

PRESENT POLICIES AND PROJECTS, AND PROPOSED STRATEGIES

Present policies and projects: national initiatives

Several documents referred to earlier express a national commitment to improving female participation at all levels.

The 1972 *Eight Point Improvement Plan* stresses a "rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic activity." Most of the major national documents since this time have stressed the importance of providing equal educational opportunities for all citizens *(National Goals and Directive Principles 1974; The Constitution, 1985; National Development Strategy, 1976.*

What has been done nationally, to directly improve the participation of females in primary education? Very little so far. *The First Primary Education Project* (1981-1987), is aimed at improving access and retention, quality of primary education and planning and management. Sub-projects include: the establishment of the *Provincial Primary Education Fund* referred to earlier; the development of Education Resource Centres to provide a venue for in-service training, exchange of teacher skills and the development and distribution of resource materials; the improvement of primary teaching materials through the development and printing of text books appropriate to the needs and customs of Papua New Guineans; the development of radio broadcast facilities and materials; the training of school library advisors; an increased emphasis on in-service training, and; the provision of systems, manpower and training to improve data collection, analysis, diagnostic testing, provincial planning and evaluation. Such projects may, in the long term, affect female retention by improving the quality of the classroom environment, thus making schooling more stimulating.

Another initiative within teacher education was the National Education Board's directive to Teachers' Colleges that they should

adopt positive discrimination policies for the selection of women and Highland people into teacher training. Thus, Highland women are selected first, other women second, Highland men third, followed by men from other provinces. No other national initiatives appear to have been directed specifically at improving female enrolment or retention.

Provincial initiatives

Each province was asked to provide information on policies, plans or projects which had been designed to improve enrolment or retention, particularly of females. Again, in most cases broad policy statements regarding female equity were included in *Provincial Education Plans* but had not been translated into action strategies.

Where action strategies and projects to improve retention had in fact been designed, they had not, in most cases been funded. The few that had been operative during 1982-1984 (for example, S. Highlands high school selection policy favouring females) appear to have largely all foundered.

Generally, more attention appears to have been given to building or extending facilities and hiring new teachers than to improving utilization of existing facilities, even though retention is in most cases, a more acute and less expensive problem than access.

Figure 6.1 provides a description of strategies which PDOE's state have been implementing in their provinces. Because of the relatively high turn-over of PDOE staff, it is possible that some projects have been overlooked. Several small projects within remote areas, for example, came to light during field visits. Unfortunately most projects rely on the initiative of an individual or group. When such people leave or a change of government occurs, many innovative projects which require sustained action over time to achieve results, are shelved or founder through inertia or lack or direction. Other innovative projects have failed because they were poorly planned, poorly or too hastily implemented or inaccurately budgeted. Good ideas which may otherwise have been successful are sometimes thrown out as failures rather than carefully analysed, re-planned and re-implemented. Figure 6.1 shows that a range of projects have been implemented in an effort to directly or indirectly improve enrolment

Figure 6.1 Provincial policies and projects designed to improve enrolment and retention

Increase enrolments	*Reduce wastage*	*Indirectly improve Enrolment and Retention*
Board of Management training conducted at the Education Resource Centre to improve management skills and encourage members to solicit enrolments and monitor attendance (S. Highlands, discontinued)	Different selection criteria for males and females entering high school so that the same percentage of girls enrolled in grade VI are given access to grade VII, irrespective of performance. (Madang, Gulf, S. Highlands discontinued. W. Sepik, 10 per cent of grade VII places reserved for girls, with the remainder allocated on merit)	Use of Boards of Management and P & C Meetings to improve schools, community relations and encourage parents to send their girls to school (E. Highlands, Simbu, S. Highlands, W. Sepik, Milne Bay, W. New Britain)
Public Awareness Campaigns (weekly Education radio broadcast, posters at Office of Information), stressing the importance of education) (Enga, E. Sepik, Morobe, Gulf, Western)	Blocking up of schools to allow continuity of progression from one grade to the next (Simbu, Enga)	Small scale agricultural projects to provide agricultural skills, food for school lunches and for sale to increase school funds (E. Highlands, Enga, W. Sepik, Simbu, E. Sepik)
Increase the maximum enrolment ratio in grade 1 to 1:45 so fewer children are turned away (Simbu, E. Sepik)	Married couples and proven responsible headmasters posted to remote or problem schools. Enforced discipline for professional misconduct (E. Sepik)	Block posting of female teachers to remote areas where communities will actively work to ensure their safety (S. Highlands)
Where demand is excessive, females are given first enrolment preference (Simbu, W. Sepik)	The Community Liaison Helper Scheme to hire influential community members who monitor absenteeism and improve female participation in schools (20 schools in Madang)	Establishment of a Provincial Nurse Training Centre (S. Highlands)
Opening of new schools (All Provinces); The opening up of 'feeder' schools (usually grade 1 and 2) to provide lower cost access for children who would otherwise be denied due to distance or over crowding in early grades (W. & E. New Britain, E. & W. Sepik, Western)	Increased funds allocated to improving the physical classroom environment and providing more desks (Milne Bay, other provinces not specified)	Establishment of craft groups and womens workshops to provide opportunities for skill development and economic return (S. Highlands, E. Sepik, Enga, E. & W. New Britain, Manus and others)
The opening of Viles Tok Ples Skuls to provide two years of education in the vernacular for 7 and 8 year olds (N. Solomons; plans to implement similar projects in W. New Britain, E. Highlands, Enga and S. Highlands)	Teachers encouraged during in-service to apply child-centered teaching techniques (Milne Bay, Manus)	Community School Agriculture Pilot project to provide a more relevent education for children who do not continue beyond grade VI (16 schools in E. Highlands and Morobe)

and retention, although only two projects specifically mention girls (Community Liaison Helper Scheme and a modified quota system discriminating in favour of girls for high school selection).

Provincial initiatives

PDOE's have recently submitted proposals for projects to be funded through the Provincial Primary Education Fund, 1986. Proposals were required to be directed either towards the achievement of UPE or towards the improvement of the quality of primary education.

Unfortunately the K400,000 allocation to be divided among the provinces according to their 'degree of disadvantage' has now been cut to K200,000. This means that provinces will have to re-establish priorities or attempt to achieve their stated goals with half the amount of money for which they had budgeted.

Figure 6.2 provides a summary of the 1986 projects proposed by provinces, with original cost estimates.

Strategies for improving enrolment and retention

Chapters Three and Four presented factors considered by provinces and consumers of education to contribute to poor female enrolment and retention.

There are five important areas where change appears to be most necessary. *Firstly*, a change in the attitude of parents and children toward the education of girls. *Secondly*, an improvement in the quality of the teaching/learning environment so that the interest of the pupils is maintained. Attention must also be given to the appropriateness of the curriculum to the needs of the majority and to the discontent expressed by parents at an education system which fails to provide all children with opportunities for secondary education. *Thirdly*, a reduction of sexual harassment or sexual liaison so that girls are not forced to terminate schooling for this reason. *Fourthly* a reduction in absenteeism since frequent absence often leads to drop-out. *Fifthly* an improvement in the efficiency of data gathering, planning and utilization of resources at provincial level.

Figure 6.2 Summary of projects proposed by provinces for funding under the 1986 Provincial Primary Education Fund

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
New Ireland	1. ERC	Quality	Establishing ERC in Kavieng.	10,000
	2. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	3,000
East New Britain	1. Awareness Campaign	UPE	Encouraging parents to enroll their children and send them for full 6 year programme.	2,000
	2. ERC	Quality	Assisting with ongoing costs of ERC	7,000
	3. Mini ERCs	Quality	Extending ERC network to outlying districts.	4,000
	4. Provincial Examinations	Quality	Providing diagnostic tests for Grades 4 & 5	2,500
	5. In-service	Quality	Upgrading teaching skills.	8,000
West New Britain	1. ERC	Quality	Establishing ERC in Kimbe.	5,500
	2. Library Programme	Quality	Upgrading library facilities and supply of books.	10,500
North Solomons	1. ERC	Quality	Expanding ERC and buying equipment etc.	5,000
	2. Desks	UPE & Quality	Starting a 5 year programme to provide all community schools with desks.	5,000
	3. School Improvement Programme	UPE & Quality	Upgrading classrooms, teachers' houses and water supply.	7,000
	4. BOM Workshops	UPE	Improving BOM effectiveness.	3,000

* 1 Kina = approx. 1 US$

Figure 6.2 *(continued)*

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
National Capital District	1. Standardised testing	Quality	Ensuring teachers teach all relevant units uniformly in all grades	10,000
	2. Data Collection	UPE & Quality	Providing data for planning especially for new grade I's.	3,000
	3. BOM & HMs Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM Effectiveness.	3,000
Western	1. In-service	Quality	Improving teaching and management skills.	4,500
	2. BOM Workshops	UPE	Improving effectiveness of BOMs.	3,000
	3. Awareness Campaign	UPE	Making parents aware of the value of full C.S.E.	2,000
Kiunga-Lake Murray	1. BOM Workshops	UPE	Improving effectiveness of BOMs.	2,500
	2. In-service	UPE & Quality	Providing skills for multiple class teaching.	3,500
Gulf	1. Desks	UPE	Providing comfortable seats in classrooms.	8,000
	2. BOM and HMs Workshops	UPE	Zone & school workshops to reduce drop-outs.	2,000
Central	1. Provincial Examination	Quality	Providing examinations for upper grades.	3,000
	2. School Materials	Quality	Ensuring students get basic materials	7,000
	3. Data Collection	UPE & Quality	Acquiring data for proper planning.	3,000
	4. In-service	UPE	Focusing on drop-out problem.	7,000

Figure 6.2 *(continued)*

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
Milne Bay	1. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness	5,000
	2. Multiple Class Teaching Allowance.	UPE	Providing K100 allowance to 30 teachers.	3,000
	3. Multiple Class Teaching Workshops.	UPE	Providing MCT skills to Teachers.	5,250
	4. Community School Boarding and Caretaker grants.	UPE	2 schools in 1986 and 21 by 1990.	6,700
Oro	1. In-service	Quality	Upgrading classroom management and teaching skills.	3,000
	2. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	3,000
	3. ERC	Quality	Renovating a building and establishing ERC	5,000
Southern Highlands	1. Boarding Community Schools	UPE	Establishing boarding schools in remote areas.	8,000
	2. In-service	Quality & UPE	Conducting courses for BOM members and teachers.	8,000
	3. Housing Maintenance	UPE & Quality	Maintaining a minimum of 6 houses each year.	7,000
	4. Data Collection	UPE & Quality	Providing data for proper planning	3,000

Figure 6.2 *(continued)*

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
Enga	1. BOM Workshops	UPE	Improving BOM effectiveness	2,400
	2. Desks	UPE & Quality	Providing desks to schools using a *Kina* for *Kina* subsidy scheme.	12,000
	3. In-service	Quality	Upgrading teachers' knowledge and skills.	3,000
Western Highlands	1. Awareness Campaign	UPE & Quality	Encouraging parents to send children for a full 6 year community school education.	
	2. In-service	UPE & Quality	Upgrading management and teaching skills.	5,000
	3. Provincial Testing	Quality	Providing standardised tests for grades I-V.	3,500
	4. Central Boarding Community Schools.	UPE	Establish 3 central boarding schools in 1986.	4,500
	5. ERC	Quality	Paying part of running costs of ERC	11,000
Simbu	1. In-service	Quality	Upgrading management and teaching skills.	10,000
	2. BOM Workshops	UPE	Improving BOM effectiveness.	3,000
	3. Attendance Incentive	UPE	Encouraging regular attendance.	2,000
	4. Nutrition Programme	UPE	Piloting a lunch programme including gardens and a subsidy.	5,000

Figure 6.2 *(continued)*

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
Eastern Highlands	1. Data Collection In-service	UPE & Quality	Providing data for proper planning.	5,000
	2. Multiple class In-service	UPE & Quality	Providing teachers with skills to teach multiple classes.	7,000
	3. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	8,000
	4. Library Books	Quality	Upgrading school libraries.	11,000
Morobe	1. Data Collection	UPE & Quality	Providing data for proper planning.	3,000
	2. BOM efficiency programme	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	2,000
	3. Model Schools	UPE & Quality	Improving management of community schools	8,000
	4. Provincial Testing	Quality	Improving teachers' testing skills.	3,000
	5. Library Programme	Quality	Upgrading community school libraries.	8,000
	6. Furniture	UPE & Quality	Providing comfortable seats for children.	11,000
Madang	1. Community Liaison Helpers	UPE	Forging stronger links between school and community.	3,000
	2. ERC	Quality	Equiping ERC and conducting in-service.	10,000
	3. Upgrading schools	UPE & Quality	Upgrading schools in remote areas.	6,000
	4. Data Collection	UPE & Quality	Continue exercise already started.	3,000
	5. Measurement and Testing	Quality	Introduce testing in grade V in 1986 and in other grades in period 1987-1990.	3,000

Figure 6.2 *(continued)*

Province	*Project*	*Aim*	*Description*	*Cost (in Kina*)*
East Sepik	1. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	4,000
	2. In-service	Quality	Upgrading teaching skills.	2,000
	3. ERC	Quality	Upgrading ERC facilities.	10,000
	4. Housing & School Maintenance	UPE & Quality	Providing maintenance to schools and teachers' houses.	7,000
	5. Purchasing Desks	UPE & Quality	Providing 200 desks to Community schools.	6,000
	6. Measurement Testing	Quality	Planning for a testing programme for all grades I-VI.	1,000
West Sepik	1. BOM Workshop	UPE & Quality	Improving BOM effectiveness.	5,360
	2. Classroom Furniture	UPE & Quality	Providing desks, tables, chairs and cupboards to classrooms.	10,140
Manus	1. In-service	Quality	Upgrading teachers' skills.	2,000
	2. ERC	Quality	Renovate a building for ERC and purchasing equipment.	5,000
	3. BOM Workshop	UPE	Improving BOM effectiveness.	1,500

Each of the problems is discussed below. Strategies for improvement, target groups, instigating groups and major constraints to success are presented, together with an estimate of potential impact (high, medium, low) and potential cost (high, medium, low).

PROBLEM: **The disillusioned or ambivalent attitude of parents toward the education of girls.**

STRATEGY: **The development of a travelling puppet theatre**

A script-writer could be employed to write short plays based on themes such as:

a) reasons for poor female enrolment and retention;

b) the importance of primary education irrespective of the limited post-primary opportunities;

c) the changing role of women;

d) the importance of regular attendance;

e) the importance of notifying PDOE's of non-professional teacher behaviour, particularly of a sexual nature;

f) the importance of continued community support for the maintenance and activities of the school; and

g) the costs and rewards of education.

Plays could also be developed to alert teachers to the way in which they selectively direct attention toward specific groups within the classroom, or discriminate in favour of boys when allocating tasks and responsibilities.

This strategy could initially be set up as a pilot project whereby the script writer trains two National Arts Theatre graduates in puppetry and collaborates with them in the writing of

thematic plays. Plays could initially be written in English, Motu and Tok Pisin. The puppeteers could travel within specified provinces, using the schools as a venue. School children and teachers could notify parents and non-attenders of the event to ensure maximum community involvement. Provincial governments to supplement travel costs, possibly through PPEF funds.

TARGET GROUP: Parents, non-school attenders, pupils, teachers.

INSTIGATING GROUP: NDOE to initially develop as a pilot project. A script-writer and two 1985 National Arts graduates have expressed interest in developing such a project.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: Attitude change occurs slowly. Evaluation of the success of the project will be difficult. Provinces may not be willing to commit funds for travel.

ESTIMATED IMPACT: High

ESTIMATED COST: Medium

STRATEGY: **Use of provincial radio stations to present short skits and narratives on education issues, particular those associated with female enrolment and retention.**

Programmes to be co-ordinated by PDOE officers but include input from community members, drop-outs, teachers, and women employed in a range of jobs.

The local production of scripts in both English and the vernacular would maximize audience catchment.

TARGET GROUP: Parents, non-attenders, pupils.

INSTIGATING GROUP:	PDOE with possible initial PDOE support.
CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS:	Poor radio reception in some areas. Project requires participation of PDOE officers. Most PDOE's state they are already understaffed.
ESTIMATED IMPACT:	Medium
ESTIMATED COST:	Medium
STRATEGY:	**Establishment of women's collectives to share skills and develop marketable projects.** Such groups may provide a vehicle for discussions on female education, direct time and effort toward marketable activities, develop the self-confidence of women and girls and provide constructive ways for female school leavers to utilize their time and education without leaving the village. In some provinces (East Sepik, for example) women's collectives also act as voluntary truancy officers on a rotating basis.
TARGET GROUP:	Girls and women.
INSTIGATING GROUP:	Possibly Non Formal Education Officers or a Female Education Officer.
CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS:	Unless carefully monitored, such activities may encourage females to drop out of school in order to participate. The on-going presence of women with skills, motivation and dedication is required for continued success.
ESTIMATED IMPACT:	Low
ESTIMATED COST:	Low

STRATEGY: **Improve school-community relations.**

i) Greater teacher involvement in the community in response to positive issues rather than problems.

ii) The setting aside of one day, either after the final teaching day in the year or before the commencement of the new year for teachers to visit feeder communities, discuss the importance of sending girls to school and gather the names of school age children for the following year's enrolment. This day would be considered a working day for salary purposes.

Several headmasters in Enga Province were already using half a day during Education Week for this purpose.

iii) Greater effort by teachers to use Education Week to improve school-community relations and involve parents in school activities other than maintainence.

iv) Introduce cooking, nutrition, or handcraft classes, one afternoon per week for combined groups of mothers and girls (Utai School, West Sepik has implemented this idea).

TARGET GROUP: Communities.

INSTIGATING GROUP: Teachers, Boards of Management.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: Parental hostility due to disillusionment with schooling. Teachers are already over-loaded.

ESTIMATED IMPACT: High

ESTIMATED COST: Low

STRATEGY:	**More widespread use of a modified quota system favouring girls, for selection to high school**
	In 1984 only 37 per cent of grade VI leavers were able to enter grade VII. Only 33 per cent of those entering grade VII were girls (Tawaiyole and Weeks, 1984).
	Until 1984, Southern Highlands tried to promote to grade VII, the same proportions of girls that were in grade VI. Several other provinces have tried similar schemes. It is suggested that such schemes be implemented on a more wide spread basis.
	A similar method could be used to improve the access of rural children to high school. In 1984, up to 53 per cent of town pupils were selected for grade VII, compared with 32 per cent station; 22 per cent rural, and; 22 per cent remote area pupils.
TARGET GROUP:	Girls, and children in remote areas.
INSTIGATING GROUP:	PDOE's; High School Boards of Governers.
CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS:	Restricted dormitory space for girls; fear of lowered academic performance if children are not all selected on merit.
ESTIMATED IMPACT:	Moderate (because limited additional places could be created).
ESTIMATED COST:	High
STRATEGY:	**Increase female boarding facilities.**
	Many dormitories were built with a disproportionate allocation of space to males. Aiyura High School (Eastern Highlands) for example, was built on a M:F ratio of 75:25 and selection was determined on this basis.

	Where dormitory space can be converted and funds allocated for renovation, more space must be allocated to girls. Security could be improved by adopting the Southern Highlands idea of employing a mature woman or 'wasmama' to live in the girls dormitory as an advisor.
TARGET GROUP:	Girls
INSTIGATING GROUP:	PDOE's, Boards of Governors.
CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS:	Limited funds available for renovations
ESTIMATED IMPACT:	Moderate
ESTIMATED COST:	High
PROBLEM:	**Unstimulating learning environment**
STRATEGIES:	Introduce a 3 year training course; review pre-service and in-service programmes; improve teachers competency in English to increase their comprehension of manuals and text-books; greater input on varieties of teaching style; methods of discipline; multi-grade teaching methods; creative use of inexpensive teaching aids; greater emphasis on remedial skills, minimise PDOE-initiated teacher transfers and greater use of pool teachers to fill within year vacancies and avoid ripple effect of transfer; reduce the length of the curriculum so teachers can strive to fulfill realistic demands; encourage curriculum revisions so core subjects such as English and mathematics can be taught through mediums such as agriculture, nutrition, small business management and health; greater utilization of ESL village based formal education

materials and methods already developed in other countries; provide refresher training for teachers college staff and appoint more females as role models within teachers colleges.

TARGET GROUPS: Pre- and in-service trainers and trainees.

INSTIGATING GROUP: Pre- and in-service trainers, and consultants.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: Parents do not wish children to go to school to learn skills they perceive they could learn at home; many critics say curriculum change infact has little effect on occupational aspirations or attitudes to village life. Children will still strive for unobtainable employment goals and the thrill of city life, even if content is more in keeping with village developmental needs.

Curriculum change is costly and takes considerable time from development stage to a stage where it has an impact upon the learners.

ESTIMATED IMPACT: Probably high, long term.

ESTIMATED COST: Very high.

PROBLEM: **Teachers perpetuation of inequalities through providing disproportionate attention to certain groups.**

STRATEGY: The development of pre- and in-service training programmes to sensitize teachers to the ways in which they, often unwittingly, convey their attitudes to their pupils.

A planning committee has been convened and a week-long workshop conducted in late October to set curriculum objectives and begin to develop a syllabus. The syllabus will be directed specifically at reducing discriminatory actions

against females, enhancing the self concept of girls and women and promoting discussion on equity of opportunity. Trial programmes will be implemented in two teachers colleges. Fieldwork will also be conducted by teachers college students, within community schools. This project is being funded by UNESCO.

TARGET GROUPS: Initially, pre-service teachers.

INSTIGATING GROUP: Curriculum committee members and teachers college staff.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: Attitude change takes time, often generations. Teachers College staff must, themselves, first be aware of the subtle (and not so subtle) differences in teachers' treatment of girls and boys and be able to model sensitive and equitable treatment of female students before they can assist in changing the attitude and behaviour of student teachers toward pupils.

PROBLEMS: **Sexual liasion and sexual harassment**

STRATEGIES:

i) Re-establish community school boarding facilities and encourage responsible families to undertake informal boarding arrangements for girls who have to travel long distances. Boards of Management could assist in negotiations between families.

ii) Where two government schools exist within walking distance of each other, assess the viability of converting both to single sex schools.

iii) Encourage more females into teacher training and more trained teachers to rural areas; the block placement of volunteer female teachers in remote areas.

In 1985, 1,036 males and 692 females were enrolled in the nine teachers colleges in

Papua New Guinea. Thus, females accounted for only 40 per cent of the years intake.

At present only about 30 per cent of all teachers are female. Most female teachers are located in urban areas. Infact 58 per cent of all urban school teachers are female; 27 per cent of rural teachers are female and only 15 per cent of teachers in remote areas are female.

Kaindi Teachers College has recently developed a scheme whereby volunteer female graduates are placed together in remote mission schools in areas where the communities and church leaders will assist in providing security and support. The success of such a scheme requires careful selection of female teachers and locations, and careful monitoring to ensure that the existing problem is not exacerbated by attempts to alleviate it.

iv) Place married couples and reliable headmasters in remote or problem areas. Increase the Remote Area Allowance for all staff.

v) Streamline procedures for disciplining teachers; produce a current Disciplinary Handbook for Assistant Secretaries who are often reluctant to pursue even serious disciplinary charges because of lack of procedural knowledge; encourage headmasters and communities to pursue action when misconduct occurs.

vi) Representatives from communities or womens collectives to escort girls to and from school on a rostered basis to ensure their safety.

vii) Encourage Assistant Secretaries to maintain a flexible policy on age of entry to school so that where a backlog exists, older children receive preference. Where terrain and conditions are favourable, girls should be encouraged to begin school at an earlier age than boys in order to maximize their chances of completing school before puberty, sexual attraction or marriage overide the importance of schooling.

iix) Establish grade I and II feeder schools in areas where distance or fear of harassment would otherwise preclude schooling.

ix) Provide remote area teachers with two-way radios to improve morale, provide an emergency medical communication network and alert PDOE's to problems associated with teacher behaviour or school management.

x) Emphasise during teacher training, the extent to which the attitude and behaviour of the teacher influences the attitude and behaviour of both pupils and community members. Teacher behaviours which are deemed inappropriate may not only result in the community adopting a negative attitude toward the teacher but also, a negative attitude toward the school and education in general.

TARGET GROUPS: All educators, communities and recipients of education.

INSTIGATING GROUPS: As above.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: There is still much shame involved in discussing sexuality. Action is often not taken against offenders because of lack of procedural knowledge or embarrassment.

Parents often withdraw the girl from school rather than face the embarrassment of confronting the school and having to make formal complaint. In some cases, noted formal complaints had been made by parents but not acted upon by schools or PDOE's. Parents then had no alternative but to withdraw the girl as they were usually ignorant of other channels through which to instigate action.

PROBLEM: **Absenteeism**

STRATEGIES:

i) Encourage provinces to adopt schemes similar to the Madang Community Liaison Helper Scheme, where community members are paid on honourarium to follow up absentees. Ensure accurate baseline data is collected prior to the implementation of the scheme so that evaluation of impact is possible, and provide training for Liaison Helpers so they can develop effective record keeping and communication skills.

ii) Discourage boards of management from sending pupils home if parents do not pay school fees or do not participate in school maintenance work. Encourage positive attempts by staff to ascertain why parents are not co-operating and, where necessary request intervention by the village magistrate, elders or priest, rather than withholding education as a means of punishment.

iii) Amend and publicise policies on non-attendance. Prior to 1983 any child absent from school for more than 30 consecutive days could be expelled. Whilst this policy no longer features in most Education Plans it still appears to be widely applied. This particularly affects girls who may be withdrawn because a change in family circumstances necessitated their staying home for

a time, but who could have later returned to school.

Schools should be encouraged to re-enrol drop-outs contingent upon regular attendance.

iv) Similarly, policies on repetition of a grade require amendment and publicity so that children who genuinely wish to return to school can re-enter at an appropriate level, subject to regular attendance.

PROBLEM: **Inefficient data gathering, planning and utilization of resources at a provincial level.**

STRATEGIES:

i) Appoint Regional Management and Planning Advisors to provide training and support for PDOE's. This project is proposed for development under the *Second Primary Education Project*, in 1987.

ii) The establishment of a Girls Community Education Advisor position. This person could provide assistance to provinces in developing, monitoring and evaluating projects designed to improve enrolment and retention, particularly of girls.

iii) Set minimum percentages of girls required to enrol before a new grade I class can be established. Teachers, Boards of Management and community members will thus have to encourage community support for the enrolment of girls before the enrolment of boys is possible.

iv) Enforce a minimum pupil: teacher ratio of 1:24 so that classes with low pupil: teacher ratios are required to combine classes, thus improving efficient use of resources and in the short term, freeing a

pool of teachers who could be used to establish new grade I classes.

v) Change the criteria for establishing the level of the school from the number of teachers to the number of pupils so that headmasters are encouraged to combine classes without reducing the level of the school or fabricating enrolment data.

vi) PDOE's to encourage schools to submit small scale proposals for improving their own enrolment and retention rates. Projects to be low cost and funded by the PDOE.

TARGET GROUPS: All those involved with data collection, planning or management.

INSTIGATING GROUPS: Regional advisors, NDOE and PDOE Officers.

CONSTRAINTS TO SUCCESS: Lack of time to comprehensively develop strategies before they are implemented, lack of systematic monitoring and evaluation at all stages of development. Lack of trained staff and lack of staff continuity.

Most of the proposed strategies are neither new nor specific to females. The experiences of many other developing countries indicate however that systematic planning, monitoring, funding and evaluation of well-worn projects is more likely to bring about a gradual improvement in enrolment and retention than the implementation of poorly thought out, gimmicky, one-off ideas.

Chapter Five highlighted regional differences in factors affecting drop-out. Before any strategies are implemented, planners must carefully assess the particular needs and problems of a region so that strategies most likely to succeed in a given area are selected.

Annex I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Annex II

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SELECTED APEID PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO UNIVERSALIZATION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

* *Education of disadvantaged groups and multiple class teaching; studies and innovative approaches; report. 1981*

Multiple class teaching and education of disadvantaged groups; national studies: India, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Republic of Korea. 1982

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Coping with drop-out; a handbook. 1987

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* Out of stock

The Asia and Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) has as its primary goal to contribute to the building of national capability for undertaking educational innovations linked to the problems of national development, thereby improving the quality of life of the people in the Member States.

All projects and activities within the framework of APEID are designed, developed and implemented cooperatively by the participating Member States through over one hundred national centres which they have created for this purpose with APEID.

The 25 Member States participating in APEID are Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, China, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Samoa, Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Each country has set up a National Development Group (NDG) to identify and support educational innovations for development within the country and facilitate exchange between countries.

The Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID), an integral part of the UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific in Bangkok, co-ordinates the activities under APEID and assists the Associated Centres (ACs) in carrying them out.

The programme areas under which the APEID activities are organized during the third cycle (1982-1986) are:

1. Universalization of education; access to education at first level by both formal and non-formal means;
2. Education for promotion of scientific and technological competence and creativity;
3. Education and work;
4. Education and rural development;
5. Educational technology with stress on mass media and low-cost instructional materials;
6. Professional support services and training of educational personnel;
7. Co-operative studies and innovative projects of research and action-based experimentation related to educational development.

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